

All Out on November 5! The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!

**Saturday, 9 a.m.
Market St. between 5th and 6th
— BE THERE! —**

The power of the integrated labor movement has scored an important victory against the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia. The Mobilization to Stop the KKK has taken the site where the lynchers had threatened to rally. Workers, minorities, all opponents of racist terror; fill Independence Mall, Saturday, November 5, to make sure that the Klan doesn't ride in Philly!

The KKK cross-burners and depraved, violent "skinhead" Nazi-lovers had planned to stage a racist "white pride" rally—a deadly menace to labor, blacks, Jews, Catholics, Hispanics, to all decent people in Philadelphia and throughout the country. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee vowed that "there must be a massive, defiant display of labor/black power, together with minorities and all intended victims of the lynchers...to stop these fascist terrorists."

The PDC initiated the November 5 Mobilization to honor the working people who built this country and to bring out a determined, united opposition to the Klan. In response to its call more than 200 groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of the Klan's intended victims signed up to say "All Out to Stop the KKK!" in Philly. Faced with this impressive outpouring of opposition, on October 26 the Klan's permit application was put "on hold" in agreement with the National Park Service.

PDC spokesman Al Nelson told a press conference the next day that the Mobilization's success is a blow against racist terrorists who would disrupt services commemorating the Jewish victims of the Nazis' *Kristallnacht* pogrom. It means that "black people are not going to be intimidated by hooded nightriders;

the Hispanic people are not going to be denounced as 'foreigners' who should 'go home'; Catholics, who suffered tremendously after World War I as victims of the Klan"—all are safer. The militant, orderly and democratic demonstration to stop the KKK is going "full speed ahead," he said.

"The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder," said a PDC press release. Underlining this warning, on the night of October 29, a gang of skinheads from Philadelphia and New Jersey assaulted a family on a train platform in Manhattan for objecting to their racist epithets. And that same night anti-Semites sprayed swastikas on the front doors of Temple Shalom synagogue in Philadelphia's Oxford Circle.

A United Front to Stop the KKK

A lot of people understand that the Klan means death, that wherever it appears, however small its numbers, it inflames and feeds upon racial fears, poisoning any sort of integrated activity, from fighting segregation to winning strikes. Today millions are disgusted with the state the country is in, with the elections in which Democrats and Republicans brazenly compete for the racist vote, with bipartisan government policy that spurns the jobless, homeless and hopeless. Working people, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the Klan stands for are looking for a way to fight back.

Stopping the KKK in Philly can be the first step.

The Partisan Defense Committee which launched the November 5 anti-Klan demonstration is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. In the early '80s, as the KKK with the backing of the Reagan White House sought to penetrate Northern cities, the SL and PDC took the lead in organizing mass labor/black mobilizations to stop them. The strategy of bringing out the power of labor and minorities to crush the fascists is drawn from the Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky's calls for a workers united front to stop the Nazis from seizing power in Germany, and the experience of the American Trotskyists in the '30s who mobilized 50,000 against a fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden.

Today, as Reagan's reign draws to a close, the ultrarightists have grown increasingly frenzied: the KKK stages brazen marches in Chicago's Marquette Park; from California to Allentown, PA, swastika-tattooed skinheads have been on the rampage, terrorizing gays, blacks, Asians, Hispanics and anybody else who gets in their way; Jewish synagogues are defaced, abortion clinics bombed, minority students in Northern universities are under attack. At the University of Wisconsin, a racist fraternity staged a "slave auction."

And as the 1988 presidential campaign draws to a close in an orgy of racist appeals, the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in the "cradle of liberty." In response to the PDC appeal, in short order over 200 groups and individuals threw their weight behind the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia. In the forefront of it were the unions, beginning with powerful AFSCME District 33, whose sanitation workers had waged a hard strike against Wilson Goode two years ago. Other local labor bodies endorsing the November 5 Mobilization include

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**Heirs of Stalin Revile
Leninist Internationalism
Trotsky and the Gorbachev
School of Falsification**

— SEE PAGE EIGHT —

Deadly Right-to-Lifers Target Women Defend Abortion Rights!

On Saturday, October 29 fanatical "Operation Rescue" bigots invaded over 30 cities and towns across the country to blockade abortion clinics, intimidating, harassing and terrorizing any woman brave enough to try to keep her appointment. From Deer Park, Long Island to Sunnyvale, California many clinics were forced to close for the day, their entrances blocked by the "right-to-lifers" as the cops kept pro-abortion demonstrators at a distance. Over 2,200 anti-abortion bigots were "arrested" outside clinics—gently carried to waiting buses, issued summonses and let out on the streets. "You're treating them like diamonds," shouted one pro-abortion rights demonstrator outside Philadelphia's Elizabeth Blackwell clinic.

As election day approaches, the ultra-right-wing fanatics, taking their cue from Bush and the Reagan White House, are growing increasingly brazen. Operation Rescue has plagued Atlanta's clinics ever since the Democratic convention in July, and threatened to descend on clinics in Boston and Dukakis' home town of Brookline, Massachusetts on the 29th. Instead, some 2,000 pro-abortion demonstrators, including the lieutenant governor, turned out for what was, to all intents and purposes, a Democratic Party rally. But



Spartacist contingent in 1,000-strong protest against bigots' blockade of abortion clinics, New York, 29 April.

despite Dukakis' "pro-choice" stand, it was the Democratic administration of Jimmy ("life is not fair") Carter that cut off federal funds for abortions for poor, mostly minority women.

And although the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision legalizing abortion is close to being overturned by the Reaganite Supreme Court, the Democrats are doing nothing to defend it. The decision whether or not to have a child is a woman's elementary right, and it's often a matter of life and death. Yet the two parties of the American ruling class don't give a damn about the lives of women forced into back-alley abortions. On July 4, cops at a Paoli, Pennsylvania clinic ordered pioneer abortion rights defender Bill Baird to take down a photo of a woman who died in a self-induced abortion, claiming it was "obscene." The hundreds of "right-to-lifers," meanwhile, were brandishing posters of fetuses.

Intimidation by the anti-abortion bigots has spread far and wide. In France last week, the Roussel Uclaf chemical company that developed an abortion-inducing drug, RU 486, which can be used to safely and privately induce abortion in the early stages of pregnancy, yanked it off the market. Roussel officials cited "very powerful" pressure groups in the U.S. After an outcry at an international medical conference against this capitulation to bigotry, the French government of "socialist" François Mitterrand ordered it back on the market. In the U.S., however, under Food and Drug Administration policy, it will be years before this life-saving

drug can be sold.

The anti-abortion crusade is all about politics—the politics of death. As pro-choice demonstrators chanted last weekend, "Right-to-life, your name's a lie, you don't care if women die." These "pro-life" forces are the same ones pushing the viciously racist death penalty. And behind the hundreds of (white) Christian fundamentalists, the leaders of "Operation Rescue" are terrorists. When they targeted New York City as the "abortion capital of the world" last April, the blockade was orchestrated by Joe Scheidler. Scheidler was arrested in June 1986 for smashing up a twice-homed clinic in Pensacola, Florida where the anti-abortion forces are led by a "former" Klansman.

While the "right-to-lifers" rant about aborting fetuses, what about the 40,000 babies who die every year before reaching their first birthday, particularly the children of poverty-stricken black and Hispanic women? An August 1988 report by the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality reveals that the United States has the worst infant mortality rate among 20 industrialized nations, eleven per thousand. Black infants are more than twice as likely to die as whites. Pregnant women in the ghettos and barrios desperately need prenatal care, nutritious food, decent housing. Instead, they are now threatened with being thrown off welfare by the ghoulish "Family Security Act."

The abortion clinic bombers and bible-thumping bigots are only the cutting edge of a broad reactionary offensive. From "welfare reform" to cutting back inner-city hospitals and the criminal negligence over the AIDS epidemic (whose victims are increasingly black and Hispanic), Democrats and Republicans are united around a genocidal program to resolve the crisis of American capitalism by making entire minority populations expendable, left on the streets to die. While railing against teen pregnancy, they leave ghetto youths jobless, homeless and hopeless. It will take a socialist revolution in this country to make respect for the lives of women and children a genuine social priority.

The Spartacist League and our journal *Women and Revolution* call on the labor movement to defend abortion rights. In Chicago last May supporters of the SL, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, Labor Black Struggle League and the Partisan Defense Committee joined in a militant demonstration that prevented "pro-lifers" from shutting down a downtown clinic. And at an April 29 demonstration against Operation Rescue in New York, a Spartacist contingent, the largest and most dynamic in the march, won support with signs saying "Labor Must Defend Abortion Clinics," chants of "Defend the Clinics, Take a Stand, Free Abortion on Demand," and an SL banner proclaiming "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■



TROTSKY

Socialist Revolution or Fascist Barbarism

The destruction of the labor movement by fascism opened the road to the genocide of the Holocaust. Communist and left-wing socialist workers were the first to be thrown into concentration camps, to be followed by millions of Jews, gypsies, Slavs. Yet the powerful German workers movement was prevented by its Social Democratic and Stalinist misleaders from stopping the Nazis. Bolshevik revolution-

ary Leon Trotsky hammered away at the need for bold action by a workers united front, led by a vanguard party fighting for socialist revolution, to crush fascism, the last resort of a decaying capitalism. In an article that was unfinished at the time of his murder by a Stalinist assassin in 1940, Trotsky wrote:

Insofar as the proletariat proves incapable at a given stage of conquering power, imperialism begins regulating economic life with its own methods; the fascist party which becomes the state power is the political mechanism....

The American working class is still without a mass labor party even today. But the objective situation and the experience accumulated by the American workers can pose within a very brief period of time on the order of the day the question of the conquest of power. This perspective must be made the basis of our agitation....

Fascism is the continuation of capitalism, an attempt to perpetuate its existence by means of the most bestial and monstrous measures. Capitalism obtained an opportunity to resort to fascism only because the proletariat did not accomplish the socialist revolution in time. The proletariat was paralyzed in the fulfillment of its task by the opportunist parties.... Fascism and the series of imperialist wars constitute the terrible school in which the proletariat has to free itself of petty-bourgeois traditions and superstitions, has to rid itself of opportunist, democratic, and adventurist parties, has to hammer out and train the revolutionary vanguard, and in this way prepare for the solving of the task apart from which there is not and cannot be any salvation for the development of mankind.

—Leon Trotsky, "Bonapartism, Fascism, and War" (August 1940)



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Skinheads: Psycho Killers On the Loose

Adapted from Workers Hammer No. 101, October 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.

Several years ago, television audiences around the world watched in horror as the 1985 European Cup Final football (soccer) match in Brussels between Liverpool and the Juventus of Torino, Italy exploded in bloody slaughter. Hundreds of people were maimed and 38 killed as British fans attacked Italian spectators in the terraces. This wasn't just a spontaneous outburst of mindless football violence. The sinister forces spearheading this nationalist carnage were the pathological fascist killers known as "skinheads."

For black and Asian people in Britain's cities, this horror has become a daily fact of life and a deadly racist threat. For nearly two decades, skinheads have been on the scene, terrorizing especially the Asian population. The firebombing of shops and homes, the razor and knife mutilations, the scrawled swastikas and "white power" slogans have reached epidemic proportions. In heavily Asian Newham in London's East End a racist attack occurs once an hour. In London Southall a young Asian man was found with the initials of the fascist Young National Front carved into his stomach.

These violent white racist thugs were spawned in the squalor of crisis-ridden British society, in the remnants of a racist Empire. This is no youth "fad" of kids drunk on rock music, beer and glue-sniffing, addicted to football and fighting, angry at being stuck in grimy slums and unemployment centers. Warped and twisted by a capitalism in terminal decline, they are human garbage. From their black combat-style "bovver boots" to their shaven heads, they aim to intimidate, to terrorize, to maim and to murder.

In the past few years, the skinheads have become that rarest of commodities in Thatcher's Britain—an international export. From France to West Germany to the U.S. these dregs of a decaying system flaunt the regalia of Hitler's Third Reich, giving the Nazi stiff-arm salute, "rocking" to the racist beat of "Oi" music. And wherever these fascist "bootboys" appear, they leave a trail of sadistic, senseless, racist violence.

Now the organized fascists—the National Front in Britain, Le Pen's Front National in France, neo-Nazis in West Germany—have moved in on this white youth "movement" of race-hating despair. They are the raw material for the shock troops of fascism. They are a deadly menace to every racial minority everywhere, to everything associated with civilized society. They must be stamped out and swept away.

Thatcher's Britain: Social Rot and Racist Terror

The social rot of deindustrialized Britain, with its millions of unemployed, the grim wasteland of empty factories, dead docklands and closed mines, has created a generation of enraged, hopeless, more or less permanently lumpenized youth. In his book *The National Front*, Martin Walker wrote:

"Britain of the early 1970s was being widely compared to the Weimar Republic of Germany in the latter 1920s. The imminent economic crisis, the permissiveness of cultural life spilling over into the sordid lasciviousness of Soho, the new blunt power of the trade unions, inflation, the impotence of Government—there was a sense of the brink, of



Freed/Magnum

In Thatcher's Britain criminal lumpen skinhead gangs terrorize, maim and murder Asians, blacks and other minorities.

Crush Neo-Nazi Vermin!

instability and of fearsome, frightful collapse."

Hitler's "National Socialists" exploited immiseration and unemployment, channeling lumpen and petty-bourgeois rage into their pogroms and genocidal Holocaust against the Jewish people. Today the NF and skinheads strike out at Britain's immigrant population as the scapegoat for Britain's economic decline.

In the late 1960s and '70s, Tories and

Labour alike began pushing ever tougher anti-immigration legislation. When Enoch Powell spewed his racist "rivers of blood" demagoguery, he gave voice to the vicious racism behind the parliamentary measures and legitimized fascist "direct action." Blood flowed on the streets at the hands of "Paki-bashing" white gangs. By the 1979 general election, the National Front was fielding 300 candidates, but Margaret Thatcher won over much of their

electoral base with her own unrestrained anti-immigrant ravings.

The NF and other fascist outfits experienced a prolonged period of fracturing, turning more toward open street terror against Asians, blacks and others. Not bound by the fetters of electoral campaigning, the British Movement recruited heavily on this basis. Factional struggle raged within the fascist movement, with one wing identifying itself as "Strasserite," so-called after the populist-demagogic spokesman of the Hitlerite Brownshirts, the SA, the criminal lumpen terror gangs who were the shock troops for Hitler's rise to power.

For decades, the desperate conditions of British society have provided a culture medium for various violent youth gangs to spawn and flourish. The decade of the '60s was marked by bloody street battles between mods and rockers. The skinheads came out of this culture medium, but from the very start they were identified by their proclivity to gratuitous, racist violence. In "Oi" music, they found the "cultural" expression of their sadistic nihilism. Those youth who choose to become skinheads do so not as a "matter of taste," but because they want to become racist killers as their way of expressing outrage with society.

An insight into the sort of psychopathic and degenerate creatures these budding fascists see as their idols can be found in one Ian Stuart, former lead singer for the skinhead band Skrewdriver, "a squat, powerfully-built man with a Mussolini-style bonehead haircut and a taste for paramilitary clothes" (*Observer*, 4 September). Stuart proudly proclaims, "I think Adolf Hitler was the greatest man who ever lived." He became a card-carrying NFer in 1979. In 1986 he was sentenced to 12 months for a street attack on a Nigerian in the King's Cross area of London.

Stuart has been instrumental in the formation of a "musical organization" which calls itself Blood and Honour, linking not only European fascist groups but also the Ku Klux Klan and White Aryan Resistance in the U.S. as well as the South African Afrikaans Resistance Movement. Other "Oi" bands feature names like No Remorse, Brutal Attack and Sudden Impact. Their "concerts," in reality fascist rallies, are orgies of racist insults against blacks and Jews, with "a brisk trade selling fascist literature, badges and records."

In Liverpool, a city with a black population going back several centuries, NF scum have stepped up attacks

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Skinhead Racists Assault Family

In New York City's Greenwich Village on October 29 a gang of up to a dozen "skinheads" wearing heavy boots and sporting swastika tattoos severely beat a white man who objected to their racist slurs against blacks and Hispanics. William Stump, 31, of Bayonne, New Jersey was waiting with his wife and three-month-old baby at a PATH train platform near midnight when the attack took place.

According to a transit worker who witnessed the incident, one of the skinheads even tried to push the baby's stroller down a steep stairwell, but the father managed a defense by burning the thug's face with a lit cigarette. Police arrested and charged four skin-

heads, who boasted that they were members of a nationwide skinhead gang of white supremacists.

Ominously, three of the four accused attackers are from Philadelphia and environs: Matthew Andrews, 20; John Himmelstein, 23; and Harry Wilson, 17. While the KKK/skinheads have retreated in the face of massive opposition to their threat to stage a racist provocation in Philadelphia, this vicious attack shows their racist violence is an ever-present danger.

It is urgent for labor, minorities and all opponents of fascism to turn out at Independence Mall on November 5 to stop them.



Bill Clare

William Stump, courageous victim of skinhead terror, with his wife Marianne and their baby.



Chanting "We stopped the Klan!" thousands charge up Capitol Hill where Klan march was supposed to begin.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982

How Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan

The Ku Klux Klan threatened to march through the streets of the nation's capital, for the first time in over half a century. Behind these white-sheeted racist killers stood the Reagan White House, which had given the Klan the go-ahead to terrorize the overwhelmingly black population of Washington. More than 1,000 cops were called out to protect the hooded and robed lynchers. But there were no white sheets on the streets of D.C. that day. On 27 November 1982 the Klan didn't march, didn't rally, didn't put on its robes. Instead, along the route the KKK said it was going to march there flew the banners of more than 5,000 triumphant protesters, overwhelmingly black, who had rallied to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan.

It was the largest, most effective mass action against the fascists in decades. Initiated by the Spartacist League, it was built through mobilizing the social power and muscle of organized labor. The first, crucial support came from black waterfront unions in the Tidewater, Virginia area, the largest working-class concentration in the Southeast. Soon endorsements began coming in from longshore, machinists, auto workers and steel workers locals around the country. In Washington, officials of the teachers union, postal workers, laborers and the railway clerks vowed that labor wouldn't permit the KKK to stage its deadly provocation. In less than a week more than 70 union officials and locals had endorsed the mobilization that would stop the Klan.

This opened the way to bring out thousands from among the black and working-class population of the Washington area who rallied at First and Constitution, the site where the Klan was supposed to begin their parade of race-terror. The Klan's opponents came out in the face of powerful forces seeking to prevent the Mobilization. Mayor Marion Barry, a former leader of SNCC, gave the Klan a permit to march... and then left town. The night before the demonstration, the D.C. chief of police went on TV telling people to stay at home November 27. Washington Congressional delegate, black Democrat Walter Fauntroy, urged the population to "ignore the Klan." To keep them away he staged a "community unity" ploy with cheese hand-outs at churches and pray-ins at prisons.

The reformist left also tried to organize their own diversions. The All-Peoples Congress of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a rally at McPherson Square, *two miles* away from the Klan site and a couple of hours *after* the KKK's announced arrival. The APC/WWP had no intention of stopping the Klan—their gabfest was aimed at exploiting anger against the KKK and turning it into votes for the Democrats. It was a classic "popular front," tying the masses to the bourgeois politicians. So concerned were the Marcyites to avoid any "confrontation" that they alienated and set up many combative ghetto youths. When people tried to leave McPherson Square to go stop the Klan, they were penned in by a daisy chain of reformists. Those who got through were targets for the cops.

After a decade of rising racist terror and rampant union-busting, black Washington wasn't looking for a "free lunch" from Fauntroy. They didn't want to listen to liberal windbags drone on for hours. They were looking for a way to *fight back*, and win. They knew that if the Klan got away with parading through Washington it would be an incitement for fascists across the country to load up their guns and get out their lynch ropes. So three times as many came out to the Labor/Black Mobilization as to the reformists' hoax, because they knew we meant business. When the 28 KKKers who showed up in

Washington that day looked down Capitol Hill and saw the thousands of determined protesters awaiting them, they stuffed their hoods and robes back into brown paper bags and were herded by the police into school buses.

The Labor/Black Mobilization gave a taste of the working class organized for power. The demonstration had the order, militancy and discipline of a general strike. Monitors squads included several members each from the Laborers union, AFSCME, Teamsters and transit workers, as well as waterfront workers from Norfolk and union supporters of the Spartacist League. Their presence ensured that there were no incidents or arrests despite an hour-long face-off with the cops at the assembly site, and we were able to hold a short, spirited victory rally in Lafayette Park despite mounted police itching to provoke and tear-gas demonstrators.

After the sniveling Klansmen were bused away and the cops pulled back their cordons and motorcycles from the Labor/Black Mobilization demonstration, thousands surged onto the streets chanting, "We Stopped the Klan!" The feeling of the working class organized for action and relying on its own strength was palpable. And not only to us. The sight of thousands of protesters, blacks and socialists, students and ghetto youth, backed up by the power of organized labor, marching in front of the White House shook the ruling class

of this country. Reaganites and Democratic Party liberals, and their black front men, responded with an orgy of lies, slanders and redbaiting about "mob violence."

Elsewhere black youth who had escaped the APC rally looking for the Klan were an easy target for the cops. People were clubbed, tear gassed and shoved through plate glass storefront windows. The media turned the cops' rampage into lurid stories of "violence" and "looting." They wanted to take back in newsprint the victory that we had won by stopping the Klan on the streets. Their violence-baiting of "Trotskyist radicals" slandered the SL and thousands of Washington's best black militants. The *Washington Times*, the voice of Korean arms manufacturer and guru Sun Myung Moon, ran a feature article about November 27 in their 30 November 1982 issue with the headline "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C. Riot."

This mouthpiece for Reaganite reaction, which joined Ollie North in raising funds for contra terror in Nicaragua, accused the Spartacist League of "provoking violence" against the cops. The article smeared us as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist outfit. The aim was to destroy the revolutionary leadership and discredit the class-struggle strategy which mobilized militant black and white workers in the streets and stopped the KKK terrorists in Washington on November 27. But they didn't get away with it—too many people knew the truth.

The SL and Spartacus Youth League filed a libel suit, and the Moonie paper was forced to make a public apology. Stating, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day," the *Washington Times* (26 December 1983) was forced to eat its libelous words against our organization and the Labor/Black Mobilization. And on the "violence" charges, then-FBI director William Webster testified to a Senate subcommittee that police had not found "any indication" that the SL "did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration" by Washington residents, "who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals."

What the Spartacist League did on 27 November 1982 in Washington was to provide the leadership and organization that enabled the most politically conscious black militants and unionists to stop a dangerous threat to their community. Rather than the reformist dead-end of looking to the capitalist state and the Democratic Party, or engaging in no-win small-group confrontations like many frustrated radicals, the Trotskyists have a program to win, based on mobilizing the power of labor in independent class action.

As we marched triumphantly through the streets of the capital that day, the chant rang out: "1,2,3,4—Time to Finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a Workers State!" ■



Elsewhere in Washington, cops heaved black youth through store windows, bourgeois media screamed "looting."

Black Self-Defense in Lancaster County



Christiana, Pennsylvania, 11 September 1851: Armed self-defense routed slave catchers, inspired generation of abolitionist fighters.

New York Public Library

Battle of Christianiana A Blow Against Slavery

Before dawn on the 11th of September 1851 a horn sounded from an old stone farmhouse near Christiana, Pennsylvania, a village between Philadelphia and Gettysburg. Upstairs seven black people—fugitive slaves—were watching for raiders. When they saw the posse of slave catchers, under the command of a United States marshal, ride into the yard, a black woman sounded the horn to call for defense. Armed black farmers filled the yard to do battle with axes, clubs, corn cutters, guns, anything at hand. In the clash a slaveowner was killed, his son seriously wounded. Taught a good lesson, the U.S. marshal fled.

The "Battle of Christianiana" was an important victory for the anti-slavery fighters in the grim decade before the Civil War, when chattel slavery seemed indestructible. As the first nationally publicized, armed struggle against the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, the Christiana resistance proved that blacks determined to defend themselves could win. Its importance was far greater than the few slaves who were able to gain their freedom. For the South, Christiana symbolized Yankee opposition to the slave system. A North Carolina newspaper editorial threatened disunion: "unless the Christiana rioters [sic] are hung... WE LEAVE YOU!... If you fail in this simple act of justice, THE BOND WILL BE DISSOLVED" (quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* [1987]).

But the government was not able to convict anyone for a crime at Christiana, because support for the resisters and hatred for the cruel injustice of the Fugitive Slave Law were so overwhelming. As the great radical abolitionist Frederick Douglass said in his

Life and Times:

"...the thing which more than all else destroyed the fugitive slave law was the resistance made to it by the fugitives themselves.... This affair, at Christiana... inflicted fatal wounds on the fugitive slave bill. It became thereafter almost a dead letter, for slaveholders found that not only did it fail to put them in possession of their slaves, but that the attempt to enforce it brought odium upon themselves and weakened the slave system."

Militant Self-Defense Points the Way

The leader of the Christiana battle was William Parker, who at 17 escaped

from bondage in Maryland in 1839. He made his way to Pennsylvania and settled near Christiana, just over the Susquehanna River, "the boundary of the slaveholding empire," beyond which slave-hunters feared to go. A community of black farmers had been established for some time in this area. Quaker farmers lived there, and although they were "nonresistant" (pacifists), they were anti-slavery and helped fugitives escape.

Here Parker married, raised a family and began farming. As he later wrote in his autobiography, *A Freedman's Story*: "I formed a resolution that I

would assist in liberating everyone within my reach, at the risk of my own life, and that I would devise some plan for their entire liberation" (Jonathan Katz, *Resistance at Christiana* [1974]). In Lancaster County, just over the border from slaveholding Maryland, this was no idle resolution. A gang of pro-slavery hooligans, known as the "Gap Gang," regularly terrorized and kidnapped blacks to send into bondage. These racist thugs—the Ku Klux Klan of the day—were professional "man-stealers," and they operated with or without the open sanction of the state.

Soon Parker organized a small group of blacks for self-defense, who vowed to resist the kidnapers and make the area safe for their families. People called Parker "the preacher"; his house was a meeting place for anti-slavery people, white and black. His boldness and determination earned him the allegiance of the black people and the hatred of the racist kidnapers. A number of courageous rescues were carried out by Parker's group. One pro-slavery collaborator lost his barn to a fire. But in January 1851 the man-stealers forcibly abducted a young black man, breaking his skull and beating him so badly that his owner refused to pay them for their filthy work. Faced with the increased threat of the new Fugitive Slave Law, Parker and his comrades renewed their vow to risk death to stop the kidnapers.

The passage of the law in 1850 gave blatant federal support for the abduction of black people in any state, free or slave. Blacks were denied any legal recourse to prove their status as free-men, while the government could levy a \$1,000 fine on U.S. marshals and

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Columbia University, March 1987: Spartacists honor heroes of anti-slavery struggle at demonstration against racist attacks on campus.

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!



Left: S.F. Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club demonstrate against sending U.S. troops to Honduras, March 18. Right: Madison SYC joins protest against racist attacks at University of Wisconsin, April 18.

Below we reprint a leaflet issued September 5 by the Spartacus Youth Clubs in Chicago and Madison.

The Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) is a communist youth organization that intervenes in social struggles with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The SYC is the youth group of the Spartacist League (SL), U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency. We are fighting to put an end to capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racial, sexual and national oppression through world socialist revolution. We take as our example the Russian Revolution of October 1917, in which the Bolsheviks led the working class to state power.

The Democrats and Republicans are partner parties of American capitalism. Tactical differences aside, they agree on the basics: crush social struggle, roll back "communism" around the world and regiment the U.S. population for anti-Soviet war. But this is an election year, so the Democrats—the party that brought you Hiroshima and Vietnam—have to pose as friends of labor and the oppressed. Jesse Jackson, the ruling class' point man for defusing militant black struggle, says, "Don't fight! Vote Democrat!" But Malcolm X put it well: "A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." Labor and blacks must break with the Democrats. What's needed is an integrated workers party to lead all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle for a workers government, a fighting labor leadership that will

replace the givebacks and sellouts of the current union misleaders with hard class struggle. Unchain the unions! For sit-down strikes to stop the plant closings and layoffs! Picket lines mean don't cross!

American capitalist society is racist to the core. Klan/Nazi scum march through urban black centers like Chicago while their brothers in blue uniforms administer Jim Crow terror in the ghettos. Only mass labor/black mobilizations can stop racist terror. SL-initiated united-front mobilizations of workers, black youth and other anti-racists backed by the power of organized labor have driven the fascists off the streets, from San Francisco to Detroit to Washington, D.C. Last year in Chicago, Spartacist supporters in the transit unions led a successful campaign which mobilized union action to defend black bus driver Cassandra Seay from a racist cop frame-up. Out of this victory, the Labor Black Struggle League was formed in Chicago to provide a basis for further working-class action for social defense.

On campuses across the country, racist and fascistic attacks have been on the rise. The SYC has intervened in anti-racist protests with a class-struggle program to drive the race-terrorists off campus! No reliance on capitalist university administrations—their job is to enforce the racist status quo! Liberal consciousness-raising won't stop the race-terrorists! Nationalist separatism is a dead-end strategy historically born of despair and pushed by demagogues like

the sinister Louis Farrakhan. The SYC fights for revolutionary integrationism—black liberation through socialist revolution! Anti-racist students, black and white, must ally with the power of the integrated labor movement to smash the racists. As a Madison SYC leaflet stated: "A one-day strike by students, the TAA, teachers, campus workers and other unionists to shut down the university would do more to change the racist climate on campus than a thousand token reforms proposed by the union-busting administration."

Free university education for all! In capitalist society, education is not a right but a class privilege, tailored to producing the technicians, administrators and ideologues needed to keep the profit system going. Nationalize the private universities under student/teacher/worker control! For open admissions and free tuition, with a state-paid stipend to cover living expenses, in order to make universal access to education a reality.

Women's liberation through socialist revolution! Under the banner of "moral rearmament," the bourgeoisie is attempting to enforce puritanical "traditional values." For women this means "children, kitchen, church." Taking their cue from the White House, screaming mobs terrorize abortion clinics with firebombs. Last spring in Chicago, the SL/SYC and the Labor Black Struggle League joined a united-front demonstration that spiked an attempt by anti-abortion bigots to close down a clinic. For free abortion on demand! Down

with reactionary age-of-consent laws! For free birth control! Billions for AIDS research! Labor must defend the rights of gays!

Free all class-war prisoners! The SYC fights alongside the Partisan Defense Committee (a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League) on behalf of the victims of this racist state's repression. The rulers of this country want to disappear class-war prisoners like Geronimo Pratt, a former leader of the Black Panther Party who has been in prison for 18 years, victim of an FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. It is our duty to make sure that this generation of militants takes up the fight to free Pratt and the many other victims of capitalist injustice. An injury to one is an injury to all!

U.S. get your bloody hands off the world! Democrats and Republicans share the aim of Yankee imperialism: to make the world safe for U.S. capitalist exploitation. That means arming Afghan Islamic fanatics who think it's a "crime" to teach a girl to read and unleashing murderous rapists against the uncompleted Nicaraguan Revolution. In Congress liberals and conservatives vote arms to anti-Communist guerrillas—puppets of apartheid South Africa—who battle the Cuban troops defending black Angola. Even civilian airliners in the Persian Gulf are considered fair game by the Pentagon war criminals! Our anti-imperialism is concrete. SYC members have traveled on

We Have a World to Win!

Nightmare of KKK Terror

From The Autobiography of Malcolm X

"When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out. My mother went to the front door and opened it. Standing where they could see her pregnant condition, she told them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching, in Milwaukee. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of town because "the good Christian white people" were not going to stand for my father's "spreading trouble" among the "good" Negroes of Omaha with the "huck to Africa" preachings of Marcus Garvey.

My father, the Reverend Earl Little, was a Baptist Minister, a dedicated organizer for Marcus Aurelius Garvey's U.N.I.A. (Universal Negro Improvement Association). With the help of such disciples as my father, Garvey, from his headquarters in New York City's Harlem, was raising the banner of black-race purity and exhorting the Negro masses to return to their ancestral African homeland—a cause which had made Garvey the most controversial black man on earth.

Still shouting threats, the Klansmen finally spurred their horses and gal-

loped around the house, shattering every window pane with their gun butts. Then they rode off into the night, their torches flaring, as suddenly as they had come....

Among the reasons my father had decided to risk and dedicate his life to help disseminate this philosophy among his people was that he had seen four of his six brothers die by violence, three of them killed by white men, including one by lynching. What my father could not know then was that of the remaining three, including himself, only one, my Uncle Jim, would die in bed, of natural causes. Northern white police were later to shoot my Uncle Oscar. And my father was finally himself to die by the white man's hand.

We went next, for some reason, to Lansing, Michigan.... This time, the get-out-of-town threats came from a local hate society called The Black Legion. They wore black robes instead of white. Soon, nearly everywhere my father went, Black Legionnaires were reviling him as an "uppity nigger" for wanting to own a store, for living outside the Lansing Negro district, for spreading unrest and dissension among "the good niggers."

I remember waking up to the sound of my mother's screaming again. When I scrambled out, I saw the police in the living room; they were trying to calm her

down. She had snatched on her clothes to go with them. And all of us children who were staring knew without anyone having to say it that something terrible had happened to our father.

My mother was taken by the police to the hospital, and to a room where a sheet was over my father in a bed, and she wouldn't look, she was afraid to look. Probably it was wise that she didn't. My father's skull, on one side, was crushed in, I was told later. Negroes in Lansing have always whispered that he was attacked, and then laid across

some tracks for a streetcar to run over him. His body was cut almost in half.

He lived two and a half hours in that condition. Negroes then were stronger than they are now, especially Georgia Negroes. Negroes born in Georgia had to be strong simply to survive.

It was morning when we children at home got the word that he was dead. I was six. I can remember a vague commotion, the house filled up with people crying, saying bitterly that the white Black Legion had finally gotten him." ■



Malcolm X
in 1960. His
autobiography
opens with
chilling account
of Klan terror.

Gordon Parks

Stalinist Wreckers Try to Sabotage Anti-Fascist United Front

Resignation from the YCL

23 October 1988

To the YCL and others,

When I joined the Young Communist League (the youth wing of the Communist Party USA), I did so on the impression that it was the party of Marx and Lenin, the party of the Russian Revolution. Both academic study and concrete political experience have shown me just how wrong that impression was.

As I see it, the basic ground rules for a Marxist-Leninist party are...

- 1) To look at the world as it really is, not how we would like it to be.
- 2) To understand that economics are the basic motive force in history.
- 3) To understand that class struggle

work brigades to Nicaragua. From the campuses to the factory gates we raised over \$25,000 which we sent directly to the Sandinistas to help them crush the contra scum. Across the country the SYC has taken the lead in organizing united-front demonstrations to drive CIA recruiters and ROTC off the campuses. Pacifists call for "disarmament"—but the blood-soaked U.S. ruling class will be disarmed only by workers revolution.

Defend the Soviet Union! Led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 successfully placed the working class in power for the first time in history. Despite Stalin's bureaucratic counterrevolution, which liquidated soviet democracy and wiped out thousands of revolutionaries including Trotsky, the USSR's collectivized, planned economy remains a historic gain for the world working class. We unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. The conservative ruling bureaucracy under-

has been the basic motive force of all political struggles since the rise of class society.

4) To take the side of the working class, the only class in modern society which has the interest and power to overthrow the present reactionary system of capitalism and to create a new socialist world.

5) To organize a vanguard party of professional revolutionaries that can be the tribune of the people and to organize this party under the principles of Democratic Centralism.

6) Finally, to intervene in the class struggle by winning over the most militant partisans of the working class to lead the class to victory.

mines Soviet defense with its pipe dream of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Gorbachev's betrayal of social struggles in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua only intensifies the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. A political revolution led by a Trotskyist party is necessary to oust the bureaucracy, restore workers democracy and return the Soviet state to the path of Lenin and Trotsky, the path of revolutionary internationalism.

We're looking for a few good communists. We seek to win young people, whatever their class backgrounds, to a lifetime of partisanship to the struggles of the working class. The Spartacus Youth Club is an action-school for revolutionaries and serves as the student-youth auxiliary to the class-struggle opposition in the trade unions. If you hate the racism and oppression of this rotten capitalist system, if you want to eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation, then you had better start fighting for a socialist America. The time to fight is now, and the way to start is to join the Spartacus Youth Club. ■

Unfortunately, as far as I can tell, neither the Communist Party USA or the YCL understands these principles. If they did, they would not be calling for a vote for a capitalist candidate like Michael Dukakis. They would not pretend that the interests of the working class within the Soviet bloc countries are the same as those of the bureaucracies. These political problems are extremely grave. However, the YCL has committed yet another political crime.

For the last week and a half, I have been organizing with the Partisan Defense Committee to bring Wesleyan students down to Philadelphia to the united-front demonstration. Unlike the Students and Youth Against Racism group, who I worked with earlier, the PDC clearly stated the united-front demonstration was open to all Anti-Klan groups and individuals. Furthermore, they were relying on the social power of the labor movement to insure that the demonstration would remain disciplined and safe. This seemed to me to be the proper demonstration for a communist to participate in.

On the evening of 10/22, an organizer from the YCL called me and told me that whoever was organizing the demonstration, the RCP or the Spartacists or whoever... whoever they were, they were in the pay of the FBI and the CIA and were violent agent provocateurs and that the YCL and the labor movement wouldn't touch the demonstration with a 10-foot pole. Surprisingly, he did not claim that the Trotskyists were in the pay of the Nazis, the Mikado, British Intelligence and Satan, but then, *Pravda* seems to have somewhat softened its line on Trotsky lately. Furthermore, the YCL has been circulating these slanderous rumors around campus making our work doubly difficult.

Since so many groups are ignoring the Klan, and the YCL is actively seeking to sabotage, real anti-fascists must work harder. Nov. 5th must be made a day that the Klan won't forget. To do this, we must make sure that people know who is working against the Klan and who is not.

Therefore, I wish to publicly announce my resignation from the YCL.



CP calls on racist capitalist government to "outlaw" racism. Real communists mobilize labor/black power to stop fascists.

and to denounce the organization for this political crime. If the Klan marches in Philadelphia, if the fascists are strengthened by this treachery, then it is the CP that must be held accountable. The whole irony of the situation is that the CP can whine to Mike Dukakis to ban the Klan, but if the fascists ever come to power here, the CP will be the first to go just as in Germany in 1933. Also, they wouldn't be the only ones.

D.H.

Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification

He was expelled, exiled, and eventually deported from the homeland of the revolution he had been instrumental in leading. Feared and vilified by imperialists and Stalinists alike, Leon Trotsky lived his last years on a "planet without a visa," hounded from one European country to another, hunted across the Atlantic, and finally struck down in Mexico in the vilest political murder of the century. But not even Stalin's assassins could silence the revolutionary internationalism which Leon Trotsky had come to personify. Today, the spectre of Trotsky continues to haunt the political heirs of Joseph Stalin. It is the spectre of the October Revolution.

PART ONE OF TWO

In the past year, scarcely a week has gone by without some reference to Trotsky in the Soviet press (see "Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution," *WV* No. 456, 1 July). Most recently the Soviet government announced it will publish unspecified writings by Trotsky in 1989. When the official Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* (9 September) recently devoted a full page to an account of the Stalin-Trotsky struggle acknowledging Trotsky's stature second only to Lenin during the revolution, it made international headlines. A month earlier *Argumenty i Fakty*, a journal directed to party cadre, carried a lengthy article entitled "L. Trotsky: Myths and Reality." And Gorbachev dramatist laureate Mikhail Shatrov's latest play, "Onward, Onward, Onward," depicts Trotsky declaring: "I am a soldier of the World Revolution."

What's going on? Is Leon Trotsky—co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution and the early Soviet state, founder of the Red Army, arch-nemesis of Stalin—finally about to be restored to his rightful place in Soviet history? No. That will not happen until the Soviet working masses return to their rightful place in power through a proletarian political revolution which shatters the Stalinist bureaucracy. The current leaders in the Kremlin are the heirs and defenders of a political counterrevolution which in 1924 usurped power from the Soviet proletariat and imposed a system of bureaucratic rule. Today, while neo-Brezhnevite opponents of Gorbachev's *glasnost* continue to traffic in outworn slanders of Trotsky from Stalin's day, the liberal intellectuals around Gorbachev resurrect an iota of the truth—not to praise Trotsky for being "the soldier of the World Revolution" but to more effectively bury him and the internationalist ideals for which he fought.

For years, to so much as utter a positive word about Trotsky was enough to be sent to a forced labor camp, or worse. History books were rewritten time and again, photographs retouched, museum exhibits carefully designed to erase any evidence of the roles played by such historic revolu-

tionary figures as Gregory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, Nikolai Bukharin and, above all, Leon Trotsky. When high school history exams were suddenly canceled last spring for lack of credible textbooks, it was a striking admission by the Stalinist apparatus that the past has been buried in lies. This summer the photographs of Lenin's colleagues suddenly began appearing in Soviet museums. Their writings are supposedly

authoritative party theoretical journal *Kommunist*, drew the line at juridical—but not political—rehabilitation: "Trotsky was expelled from the party not in 1937, but in 1927 for his anti-party activities." By his choice of dates, Latsis is saying: Stalin was right against Trotsky, but then he went "too far." In 1937, Stalin's terror consumed even loyal Stalinists; in 1927, the forces of Stalin and Bukharin rallied behind the

road back to Lenin: the centrality of an internationalist perspective. Yet all the participants in the October Revolution knew that it was not simply a Russian revolution but the first stage of the world revolution. October 1917 was followed by revolutionary upheavals throughout Europe: Germany 1918-19, Hungary 1919, Italy 1920. In the U.S., there was a general strike and short-lived workers council in Seattle in 1919.



V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, co-leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary, 7 November 1919. Soviet working class will restore Trotsky to his rightful place in history.

being moved to open shelves from the closed archives where they gathered dust for years. And there are reports that *samizdat* versions of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* are circulating.

Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika*—"restructuring" the Soviet economy along the lines of "market socialism"—mandates a "restructuring" of Soviet history as well, aimed at sweeping away the dross of outworn and shattered lies dating from the Stalin era. Having disowned Stalin, they anoint Stalin's ideological hatchet man Bukharin—purveyor of anti-socialist, anti-Leninist views like "socialism in one country" and "socialism at a snail's pace"—as Lenin's rightful political heir. A recent poll of Moscow residents commissioned by the *New York Times* found Bukharin more popular than any historic Soviet leader except V.I. Lenin himself. More startling was the fact that one out of nine interviewed had a favorable opinion of Trotsky. "The Demon of the Revolution" as *Pravda* called him.

In an unprecedented public call for Trotsky's rehabilitation published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* last June, Dr. Otto Latsis, the deputy editor of the

nationalist banner of "socialism in one country," bureaucratically crushing the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition. This was the "ideological struggle" Gorbachev praised during his speech on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution last year. According to Gorbachev:

"Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. In foreign policy they gave priority to export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city exploiting the countryside, and to administrative and military fiat in running society. Trotskyism was... essentially an attack on Leninism all down the line."

The current Soviet regime views even the stodgy Brezhnev as some sort of closet "Trotskyite" for "exporting revolution" by sending troops to Afghanistan. Gorbachev rejects even lip service to the class struggle internationally; his colleagues blame the Soviet Union for the Cold War. And with all the injunctions to "return to Lenin," the Communist International is scarcely mentioned. What is missing on all sides in the debates wracking the Soviet press is precisely that which alone can open the

Colonial peoples of the East were inspired to take up arms against their imperialist oppressors.

"Old Thinking" vs. "New Thinking"

For all their self-styled "new thinking," after decrying the "blank spaces" in Soviet history, the Gorbachevites fill them in with their own selection of lies that were fashioned more than 60 years ago by Stalin/Bukharin. Their contribution to the arsenal of "anti-Trotskyism" is to obscenely dub the man who fought Stalin and Stalinism until his death as "another Stalin." Their purpose in this incredible slander is clear: by denouncing Trotsky they exorcise the internationalism of the October Revolution. As an article by Michal Reiman in the Eurocommunist Italian CP journal *Rinascita* (9 July) observed of the recent Soviet polemics against Trotsky: "By attacking him you can attack, from a nationalist standpoint, a whole revolutionary period of Bolshevism, describe it as foreign to Russian national history and the history of Bolshevism itself."

The question of Stalin vs. Trotsky

has featured prominently in the hyzantine ideological war between the Gorbachevites and their conservative opponents centered around the recently demoted Yegor Ligachev. For unreconstructed Brezhnevites, to credit Trotsky with any positive role in Soviet history is nothing short of heresy. On the eve of Gorbachev's 70th anniversary speech, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (27 September 1987), the flagship organ of anti-Gorbachev conservatives and of Russian nationalism, published a scurrilous diatribe by historical sciences professor V. Ivanov under the title "Repainting Yudushka." (In an angry note in 1911, Lenin had called Trotsky *Yudushka*, an allusion to a character in Russian literature, but which the Stalinists habitually translate as "Judas.")

With the old Stalin lie that Trotsky was a lifelong agent of Hitler and the Mikado too discredited to be used, the Ivanov article retailed virtually every other anti-Trotsky vilification under the sun: he left his wife and children in Siberian exile, he joined the Bolsheviks only to subvert them from within, he tried to wreck preparations for the insurrection, he used the revolution to help his father (who "started 1917 with a wealth of nearly 1 million rubles") to set up a "bread business" in famine-stricken Moscow. Etc., etc. *ad nauseam*. Ivanov tries to deny Trotsky's leading role in the October insurrection by inanely passing it off as "just one month" spent as head of the Petrograd Soviet, where his "activity basically boiled down to the delivery of speeches."

In 1918 Stalin himself wrote that "All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was carried out under the direct leadership of the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, comrade Trotsky." There is scarcely a page of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* which does not mention Trotsky, detailing his central role in organizing the insurrection from his position as head of the decisive Petrograd Soviet and its Military Revolutionary Committee. In a personal introduction, Lenin "unreservedly" recommended Reed's book to the workers of the world as "a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution." Under Stalin, *Ten Days* was banned. When it reappeared after Stalin's death, it carried a caveat warning that the book "does not sufficiently reflect the stubborn struggle conducted by Lenin and his closest companions against the capitulators and against the tactical line of Trotsky."

The *Argumenty i Fakty* (20 August) article by historian N. Vasetsky criticizes "former leaders of the party" for "reducing Trotskyism entirely to Menshevism" instead of also attacking its "left-radical and ultraleft lines." For Vasetsky, you see, Stalin's policy of brute terror and assassination was not enough; by failing "to carry on a full-scale ideological-political struggle against Trotskyism" it allowed a revival of Trotskyism among radicalized youth in the 1960s. But by "political struggle" Vasetsky means the Big Lie—he even rebukes Stalin for the 1918 statement acknowledging Trotsky's leadership of the insurrection.

Like all Stalinist diatribes, Vasetsky's article is quick to point out that not until 1917 did Trotsky join the Bolsheviks. Before then, Trotsky failed to understand Lenin's unique contribution, that a disciplined, centralized party of the proletarian vanguard was key to revolutionary victory. Though Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks in the famous 1903 split, politically his theory of permanent revolution placed him qualitatively to the left of the Mensheviks (who insisted that the coming revolution was to place the bourgeoisie in power), and prefigured Lenin's *April Theses*. The decisive test came in the crucible of revolution: Trotsky took Lenin's side as co-leader of the October Revolution in opposition to compro-



Lenin lays foundation stone for monument to Communist martyrs Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the heroes of the Paris Commune, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Petrograd, July 1920.

misers like Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin's erstwhile lieutenants. "From that time on," said Lenin, "there has been no better Bolshevik."

Vasetsky acknowledges that Trotsky was head of the Red Army during the Civil War, yet claims "the Red Army gained victory on the fronts of the civil war not thanks to, but in fact in spite of the interference" of Trotsky. Vasetsky cites Trotsky's *My Life* as evidence that Trotsky intended to abandon Petrograd until Lenin overruled him. As Stalin said in *Marxism on the National Question*, "paper will put up with anything that is written on it." Vasetsky knows that his readers have no access to Trotsky's autobiography. If they did, they would find that it was Lenin who raised the question of abandoning Petrograd. Trotsky quickly won Lenin and the rest of the Politbureau over and authored a decree: "To defend Petrograd to the last ounce of blood, to refuse to yield a foot, and to carry the struggle into the streets of the city."

Of course it's hard to maintain the sort of utter falsification practiced by Vasetsky and Co. without simply banning all evidence to the contrary as Stalin did. So *glasnost* leading light Yuri Afanasyev chastises tour guides at the Smolny Institute, headquarters of the revolution, for not pointing out Trotsky's office. Yet Afanasyev promotes a more sophisticated version of *Sovetskaya Rossiya*'s rewriting of the insurrection to "delete" Trotsky's central role in it by listing him among "opponents of the uprising," claiming that "Trotsky and his supporter Stalin believed in legal methods of assuming power through the Congress of Soviets. Hence their attempts to postpone the uprising until the opening of the Congress" (*Moscow News*, 15 November 1987).

As head of the Institute of Historical Archives, Afanasyev is certainly in a position to know the truth. There were opponents of an uprising in the party, but Trotsky stood solidly with Lenin against them. In the weeks leading up to the insurrection, Lenin expressed extreme impatience with the party's slowness in preparing the uprising. So did Trotsky. As head of the Military Revolutionary Committee Trotsky placed the entire Petrograd garrison—the armed power—under the command of the Bolshevik-controlled Soviet. He successfully used the preparations for the upcoming Congress as a defensive cover for the Bolsheviks' offensive that brought down the Provisional Government. Lenin's "difference" with Trotsky stemmed largely from the fact that, in hiding in Finland, he was cut off from

the party's day-to-day tactics. When he arrived in Smolny on the night of October 24, alarmed by rumors of conciliatory negotiations, he found the insurrection already underway.

Lenin had good cause to fear. Back in March, Stalin and Kamenev had given conditional support to the bourgeois Provisional Government. While Kamenev and Zinoviev opposed an insurrectionary seizure of power outright, Stalin played his usual waiting game to see which faction would come out on top. It was Trotsky who led the fight against the leadership majority which voted to participate in the Kerenskyite "Pre-Parliament," an action counterposed to the seizure of power. Lenin wrote: "Trotsky was for the boycott. Bravo, Comrade Trotsky!" When Zinoviev and Kamenev publicly denounced Bolshevik plans for insurrection, Lenin insisted they be expelled as "strikebreakers." Stalin unilaterally decided to run Zinoviev's reply in *Pravda*, and for good measure added a sympathetic editorial comment condemning the "sharp tone of comrade Lenin's article" and covering over the sharp split by asserting that "we are fundamentally in agreement."

When the anti-Trotsky *troika* of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev usurped power upon the death of Lenin they began turning the truth of the revolution on its head, labeling Trotsky a

Menshevik while covering over their own opportunist roles. Thus began the Stalinist mythology of "Trotskyism" as anti-Leninism. Those who had flinched in the face of revolution in the first place now set out to malign and eliminate its leaders. The dead Lenin was turned into an icon; the living Trotsky was rendered a demon. Stalin took this process to its logical, bloody conclusion—making the erstwhile Menshevik counter-revolutionary Vishinsky (who signed Kerensky's arrest warrant for Lenin in 1917!) the prosecutor in the slaughter of Lenin's colleagues.

Trotsky exposed the various smears and slanders (which continue to be churned out to this day) more than 60 years ago in his "Letter to the Bureau of Party History" (October 1927), reprinted in *The Stalin School of Falsification*. In a 1931 introduction, he explained: "The so-called struggle against 'Trotskyism' grew out of the bureaucratic reaction against the October Revolution and out of the urge for national tranquility. That the past was falsified and altered is not at all due to personal intrigue, nor is it an outgrowth of clique squabbles, as commonly depicted by the banal bourgeois historiographers." And now by the banal Gorbachevite historiographers.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Philadelphia:
'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan November 5'."

List of Endorsers as of 30 October 1988

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James R. Barrell, Executive Board and Past President, USWA Local 8751,
Hyde Park, MA
Heskel Berken, retired member, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers,
Philadelphia, PA
Paul Bigman, International Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department
Store Workers, Chicago, IL
Black & White Men Together, Chicago, IL
The Black Community Council of Quebec, Inc., Montreal, Quebec
Black Student Alliance, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA
Wanda J. Black, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union
Local 241, Chicago, IL
Boiswharf Tendency
Frank Boone, Vice Chairman, United Motorman Division of TWU Local 100,
New York, NY
Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA
Louis J. Brady, Director, Department of Civil Rights, International Union of
Operating Engineers, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Peter Brandt, Historian, West Berlin, Germany
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit
Union, Chicago, IL
Prison Browning, Associate Professor, Department of English,
University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Cedeno de Solidaridad con Chile, Bronx, NY
Michael L. Callen, founding member, People with AIDS Coalition, New York, NY
Campaign Against Apartheid, University of California, Berkeley, CA
Giovanni Campari, Deputy Editor, *Interstampa*, Milan, Italy
Sadie Campbell, Business Agent, CWA Local 1150, Bronx, NY
Caribbean Students Association, City College of New York, New York, NY
Caribbean Student Union, Hunter College, New York, NY
Gerald J. Cavanaugh, Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley, CA
Chris Carls, Public Affairs Director, WRTI 90.1 FM, Philadelphia, PA
Alicia L. Carroll, Secretary, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Philadelphia, PA
Brenda L. Carroll, Steward, Teamsters Local 743, Chicago, IL
Jerry Carter, Financial Secretary, USWA Local 436, Atlanta, GA
John H. Carter, Council Administrator, AFSCME Council 67, Baltimore, MD
Cesar Pedro Chavez, Philadelphia, PA
Gail P. Chauncey, Special Projects Editor, *The Spartan Echo*, Norfolk State
University, Chesapeake, VA
Gabi Chislow, member, Women Strike for Peace, Washington Peace Center,
Washington, D.C.
State Representative David Clarenbach, Wisconsin State Assembly, Madison, WI
Rev. J.W. Clemons, Hampton Road Minister's Conference, Chesapeake, VA
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Philadelphia, PA
David Cohen, Councilmember-at-Large, Philadelphia City Council,
Philadelphia, PA
Leroy Collier, Branch President, NALC Branch 2200, Pasadena, CA
Victor Collins, Director, Minority Student Service at Old Dominion University,
Norfolk, VA
Columbia College Student Council, Columbia University, New York, NY
Comité por la No Intervención en Centroamérica, San Francisco, CA
Thomas Palma Cronin, President, AFSCME District Council 47, Philadelphia, PA
William E. Cross, Associate Professor, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
CWA Local 1150, New York, NY
Danny K. Davis, Alderman, 29th Ward, Chicago, IL
Richard Davis, Madison, WI
Day Session Student Government, Hunter College, New York, NY
Day Student Government, City College of New York, New York, NY
Ronald V. Dellums, Member of Congress, Oakland, CA
Tracy T. Devlin, Text Lab Shop Steward, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
Byron Dickinson, Vice President, Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459,
Eliobcock, Ontario
John J. DiPaola, Vice President, IAM Local 1018, Flushing, NY
Ernest Downing, Chairperson, East New York Shop, TWU Local 100, Queens, NY
Steve Downs, member, TWU Local 100, New York, NY
William Esterling, Retired President and Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit
Union Local 268, Cleveland Heights, OH
Herbert Edwards, President, ACTUW Local 170, Philadelphia, PA
Rev. Greyson Scott Ellis-Hegler, Minister, Church of the United Community,
Roxbury, MA
Harry English, President/CEO, Illinois Black United Fund, Inc., Chicago, IL
Bruce Evans, Advocate and member, Philadelphia Unemployment Project,
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Jesse S. Everett, Shop Steward, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732
Atlanta, GA
15th & York St. Small Businessperson Association, Philadelphia, PA
James S. Finkel, Recording Secretary, United Motorman Division of
TWU Local 100, Brooklyn, NY
Eric Foner, Professor of History, Columbia University, New York, NY
Marvin Foreman, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees
No. 23, Norfolk, VA
Benny Foster, Vice Chairman, Power Division of TWU Local 100,
Brooklyn, NY
Fourth Internationalist Tendency
Sere C. Franco, President, Confederation of Latin American Students at the
University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Richard S. Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist, Los Angeles, CA
Freedom Socialist Party
Peter H. Freeman, Delegate, Social Service Employees Union Local 371,
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A. James Gaianello, President, IAM Local 1018, Flushing, NY
Gay and Lesbian Alliance, San Francisco City College, San Francisco, CA
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Alliance, University of California, Berkeley, CA
Gay Men's Alliance of Hunter College, New York, NY
Gay People's Union, Hunter College, New York, NY
Jeremy Garovese, Executive Board member at large, CWA Local 4309,
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Gilbert Gordon, Attorney, Chicago, IL
Samuel Green, Executive Board member, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732,
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Haitian Student Association, City College of New York, New York, NY
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Leon Harris, Secretary/Treasurer, ILWU Local 8, San Francisco, CA
Jeff Harris, Staff Representative, SEIU Local 25, Chicago, IL
Harbert Hawley, Steward/Delegate, AFSCME District Council 33, Philadelphia, PA
Charles Hayes, Member of Congress, Chicago, IL
Calvin Hermon, Professor of Black Studies, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH
Mary B. Hester, Secretary, CWA Local 4309, Cleveland, OH
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Local 21, Oakland, CA
Linda Kaya Holmes, Recording Secretary and Chair of Civil Rights Committee,
SEIU Local 82, Washington, D.C.
James Hunier, President, AFSCME Local 2799, Detroit, MI
Linda Hunier, Associate Professor, Department of African Language and
Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI
IAM Local 1111, Hawthorne, CA
IAM Local 1834, South Ozone Park, NY
ILA Local 1408, Jacksonville, FL
ILA Local 1458, Freighthandlers, Norfolk, VA
Yves A. Isidor, Professor, Roxbury Community College, and Officer of the
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Edgar S. Jackson, Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192,
Oakland, CA
Ronald W. Jackson, Sr., President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268,
Cleveland, OH
Harold L. Jamison, Journalist, *New York Amsterdam News*, New York, NY
Wanda J. Jenkins, ex-Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 334,
Detroit, MI
E. Roy John, Director, Brain Research Laboratory and Professor, Department of
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Randy Johnson, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
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Nelson N. Johnson, President, Theology Fellowship, Virginia Union University,
Richmond, VA
Roscoe D. Johnson, President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local
668, Philadelphia Chapter, Philadelphia, PA
Harriet Jones, member, Grass Roots Congress, Cleveland, OH
Journal and Guide, Norfolk, VA
Nicholas Kaku, Professor, Physics Department, City College of New York,
New York, NY
Rabbi Joanna Katz, Philadelphia, PA
Joasaph R. King, President, AFSCME Council 25 Local 23, Detroit, MI
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Maggie Kuhn, National Convener, Gray Panthers, Philadelphia, PA
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Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
George Lach, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203, Baltimore, MD
Susan L. Lanz, Director, Labor and Community Affairs, Independent Federation of
Flight Attendants, Forest Hills, NY
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New York, New York, NY
Jack Layton, City Councillor, Toronto, Ontario
James Leahan, Director, University Christian Movement,
Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH
Malvin Leiman, Professor of Economics, State University of New York,
Binghamton, NY
Mildred F. Leonard, Steward, IBEW Local 134, Chicago, IL
Lesbian Gay Alliance, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA
Lesbians Rising Collective of Hunter College, New York, NY
Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1, Toronto, Ontario
Isaac Levart, Financial Secretary/Treasurer, UAW Local 465,
Cleveland Heights, OH
Paris Lewis, Organizer, Howard University Progressive Student Movement,
Washington, D.C.
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University of Akron, Akron, OH
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Toronto Local, Toronto, Ontario
Conrad Lynn, Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel, NAACP, Nanuet, NY
William Marshall, Pocomo, CA
Aurelio P. Martinez, Jr., President, National Association of Letter Carriers
Local 142, Washington, D.C.
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Martin Perlich, Writer/Producer, Los Angeles, CA
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Workers Union Local 1064, Dearborn, MI
Philadelphia Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid, Philadelphia, PA
Alpha Chapter, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc., Middletown, CT
Sterling D. Plummer, Director, Black Studies, University of Illinois, Chicago, IL
Marion Pollock, President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Vancouver Local,
Vancouver, B.C.
Poder Popular de Chile, Bronx, NY
Jonas Poulsson, Assistant Professor, Department of Government,
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James Poyer, Shop Steward, AFSCME District Council 37 Local 1549,
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Gerolimo J. Jago (Pret), Temel, CA
("Duack") Magazine, Hunter College, New York, NY
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Homer Reed, Second Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241,
Chicago, IL
Larry Ragan, President, USWA Local 1014, Gary, IN
Kat Reiflin, Chairman, VVN Alliance, Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime,
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Seith Ross, Director, CWA Local 4309 (Ohio Bell), Cleveland Heights, OH
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Fairfax, VA
Joseph Rubio, Vice President, IAM Local 311, Azusa, CA
Anthony Russo, member, U.S./Vietnam Friendship Association,
Santa Monica, CA
Fermín N. Ruybal, Business Representative, Painter District Council 33,
San Jose, CA
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James W. Ryder, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
David Samolin, member, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights,
Philadelphia, PA
Chris Hanson-Sánchez, President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights
Philadelphia Chapter, Philadelphia, PA
San Francisco School Bus Drivers Union, United Transportation Union Local 1741,
San Francisco, CA
Gala Sayers, United Negro College Fund, Chicago Bears (retired), Skokie, IL
Elaine Schachler, Philadelphia Steering Committee member, Pnai Or Religious
Fellowship, Philadelphia, PA
Rabbi Zalman M. Schachter-Shalomi, President, Pnai Or Religious Fellowship,
Philadelphia, PA
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Tim Scherhorn, Shop Steward, TWU Local 100, Brooklyn, NY
School of General Studies Evening Student Government, Hunter College,
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William R. Scott, Chairman, Black Studies Department, Oberlin College,
Oberlin, OH
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David R. Shalton, Vice President, San Francisco School Bus Drivers Union, United
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Paul N. Siegel, Professor Emeritus, Long Island University, New York, NY
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Philadelphia, PA
Malcolm Smith, volunteer/member, Health Care Committee, Philadelphia
Unemployment Project, Philadelphia, PA
Spartacus League of the U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, New York, NY
David S. Shapiro, Shop Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local,
Toronto, Ontario
James V. Slancil, President, Student Government Association, Chicago State
University, Chicago, IL
Steve J. Starn, Professor, History Department, University of Wisconsin,
Madison, WI
Homer Stevens, Board of Trustees member, United Fishermen and Allied Workers
Union, Vancouver, B.C.
Albert E. Steward, Organizer, Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers,
Cambridge, MA
David Steward, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10, Berkeley, CA
William J. Stirling, Vice Local Chairman, United Transportation Union Local 483,
Toronto, Ontario
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Student Government Association, Hampton University, Hampton, VA
Student Government of Barnard College, New York, NY
Student Health Society of Hunter College, New York, NY
Students for Non-Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean
City College of New York, New York, NY
Hugh Tague, Business Manager, OPEIU Local 14, Philadelphia, PA
William "Bill" Tate, Vice President and New York Regional Director,
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Temple Lambda Alliance, the lesbian and gay student union at Temple University,
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Ron Tenney, President, Teamsters Local 315, Martinez, CA
Gerald Tiltmayer, Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store
Workers Union Local 1034, Philadelphia, PA
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Zollo Torres, President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights,
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Terence S. Turner, Professor, Department of Anthropology,
University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
Jan Y. Tussey, Delegate to Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, and
member, CTU No. 53, CWA Local 1452, Cleveland Heights, OH
Ronald A. Tyra, Vice President, CWA Local 1150, Mount Vernon, NY
United Negro College Fund, Rights Council, Chicago, IL
Ummi's Strategic Plan for Conscientious Survival, Philadelphia, PA
Unión de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y Riego de Puerto Rico (UTIER)
Sanjurjo, Puerto Rico
Douglas A. Uren, President, TWU Local 30, North Vancouver, B.C.
USWA Local 1014, Gary, IN
Lloyd K. Vandever, President, UE Local 1412, Oakland, CA
Charles van Gelderen, Socialist Outlook, Cambridge, England
Anne C. Varma, Councilmember, Philadelphia City Council, Philadelphia, PA
Benjamin Vianick, Executive Board member, Oakland Education Association/
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VNV, Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime, West Berlin, Germany
The Washington Sisters, Columbus, OH
Arthur Watson, Secretary/Treasurer, American Federation of Government
Employees Local 1457, San Francisco, CA
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Alonzo Wells, Former Chair of Trustees of UAW 1776, Detroit, MI
Wesleyan Socialist, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT
Philip E. Whelan, Director, Ecumenical Program for Interlaminar
Communication and Action, Washington, D.C.
Donald Wheelin, Vice President, Pasadena Resource Allocation Commission,
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E. Lois Williams, President, Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations,
Philadelphia, PA
Ira L. Williams, Vice President, Social Service Employees Union Local 371,
New York, NY
Jens R. Williams, President, African American Student Union, Temple University,
Philadelphia, PA
Lois A. Williamson, Executive Director, Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants
(CURE), Philadelphia, PA
Arthur W.D. P. Chairman, People United for Justice, Philadelphia, PA
Edward Wolkstein, Former President, Erie #1 Co-op Teachers Assoc
NSUT, AFT, Buffalo, NY
Terez E. Woods, Executive Board member and Assistant Chief Steward,
CWA Local 4309, Cleveland, OH
Evelyn M. Wyatt, Steward, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
James Yates, veteran and veteran of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, NY
Richard J. Yates, Clinical Counselor, Cleveland State University,
Cleveland Heights, OH
Ronette Youmans, member, Human Rights Committee and House of
Representatives of United Teachers of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA
Richard Ziebell, President, UAW Local 477, Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree
in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by
the Parisian Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others.

Klan Won't Ride...

(continued from page 1)

AFSCME Local 2586, SEIU Local 668, RWDSU Local 1034, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the Philadelphia Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid.

Nationally, more than 100 union locals and officials are supporting the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Endorsers include ILA locals in Jacksonville and Norfolk, Machinists locals in the L.A. area and New York City, presidents and locals of the Steelworkers union in Gary, East Chicago and Sudbury, Ontario, bus drivers in San Francisco, two divisions of TWU Local 100 in New York, ILWU officials in California.

Endorsements have also come in from prominent civil rights activists, local and national political figures, student and other groups. Four Philadelphia city councilmen, U.S. representatives Ron Dellums and Charles Hayes and former Congressman Parren Mitchell have endorsed. Also Operation PUSH; Gale Sayers, legendary former Chicago Bears star; former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt); ex-Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal and Civil War historian James McPherson. At Temple University in Philadelphia the black and gay student unions are energetically building the November 5 anti-Klan mobilization. In New York City, student governments and councils at CCNY, Hunter and Columbia have endorsed.

In Philadelphia's Hispanic community, state representative Ralph Acosta, leaders of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights and of local community groups are supporting the November 5 Mobilization. Internationally, the Canadian LCUC postal workers as well as officials of the CUPW and UTU in Toronto and the fishermen's union in Vancouver are backing the call. From Mexico, Esteban Volkov, curator of the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán; from Puerto Rico, the UTIER electrical workers; in Germany the Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime (VVN), the Greens parliamentary fraction and Peter Brandt are among the endorsers.

The breadth and depth of this support has been vital. All over the country, the racists and union-busters have been getting away with everything up to and including murder. Labor has taken a pounding: thousands of PATCO air controllers fired, their leaders dragged away in chains; billions in "giveback" contracts shoved down unions' throats,

It Takes \$\$\$ to Make Sure the Klan Won't Ride in Philly!

IT TAKES \$\$\$\$ AND PEOPLE TO STOP THE KLAN—dig deep and donate NOW! Get your union, community group to pledge. Expenses are mounting. We expect to print over 350,000 leaflets and thousands of posters. We'll need over \$7,500 just for printing costs, and much, much more to get the word out and to get huses in. We need you and your help. Call us at (215) 790-1822 or your Partisan Defense Committee representative. Send your contribution to:

November 5 Mobilization
c/o Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canat St. Station
New York, NY 10013

or:

November 5 Mobilization
1530 Locust Street, Suite #92
Philadelphia, PA 19102

A Victory Against the Klan!

Partisan Defense Committee Press Release

11 p.m., October 26

In the face of the massive outpouring of opposition to the terroristic KKK from groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of union members, civil rights activists, community groups, students and others, the Klan's threat to invade the city of Philadelphia November 5 has reportedly been "put on hold."

This is a victory against the Klan. The All Out to Stop the KKK mobilization will be at Independence Mall at 9 a.m., November 5 with a mass labor-centered

demonstration of thousands to honor the working people who built this country, and to guarantee that the Klan does not ride in Philly.

An agreement between the National Park Service and the Ku Klux Klan is no assurance that the decent people of Philadelphia are safe from the Klan's racist terror. The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder. Even when they appear in small numbers they feed upon and into every kind of racial fear—they are poison to

any useful integrated action, like winning strikes.

We vehemently protest the accusation that violence would be engendered by our demonstration, which will be militant, orderly and democratic. We repeat: the KKK and skinheads are killers. If the labor movement in Germany had stopped the Nazis when they were small, there never would have been the Holocaust. Violence-haiting and red-baiting those who want to stop the Klan only serves to encourage violent attacks by the Klan on the people of Philadelphia. We are determined that the horror perpetrated by Nazi Germany must not happen here.

—Statement of the
Partisan Defense Committee,
initiator of the
November 5 Mobilization to
Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

"two-tier" wage schemes dividing their ranks. The ghettos have been devastated by unemployment, social spending is slashed to the bone to finance the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, millions are homeless and hungry, and now come laws to throw women and children off welfare.

And in Philadelphia, from Rizzo to Goode it's been war on blacks and unions. Both the "mayors of murder" waged a deadly vendetta against MOVE, culminating in the mass murder of 13 May 1985. Small wonder that the KKK and skinheads—whose mutual hero is Adolf Hitler—thought they had a green light to parade their racist filth in Philly! Plenty of people would like to fight back and turn this situation around if they could see a way to do it. Even one major successful strike could unlock the impasse. But what's necessary is militant leadership to mobilize labor/black power in class struggle.

A Battle for Philly

As soon as we publicized the mobilization call, as soon as it was clear that one way or another the KKK/skinheads would not strut unchallenged through the center of this city on November 5, various forces moved into high gear, not to stop the KKK, but to stop the anti-Klan mobilization. The last thing some highly placed bourgeois "city fathers" wanted to see was labor and minorities flexing their muscle.

They tried violence-baiting the antifascist mobilization—hoping to make the anti-Klan mobilization off-limits to the people of Philadelphia and to strong-arm its supporters into backing off, or at least to pressure the Park Service into canceling the demonstrations. They tried organizing "ignore the Klan" diversions. They tried everything, but nothing worked. They came up against solid support for a militant anti-Klan demonstration whose backbone was the integrated labor movement.

On October 19, the Fellowship Commission, led by real-estate developer Willard Rouse, III, announced plans to hold an event the day before the planned KKK rally. It ended up being canceled. A group around state representative David Richardson began talking of a "get out the vote" rally timed to draw people away from the mobilization—nothing came of it. The efforts to spike the mass anti-Klan event began with an appeal by the mayor just hours after the Mobilization's first press conference. Issue No. 3 of the *November 5 Mobilization Notes* (31 October), regularly distributed to the far-flung endorsers of the mobilization call, recorded the week-long battle:

"Monday, 24 October—The November 5 Mobilization held a press conference at the Pennsylvania Social Services Union hall. The time and place (then the third block of the mall) of the

demonstration was announced. The conference, chaired by Al Nelson who spoke for the Partisan Defense Committee, received considerable coverage, including news reports on Philadelphia radio stations WCAU, WIP, WHYY and WWDB. Speakers included Gerald Tittermary and Charles Valenta of RWDSU Local 1034, Shannon Duffy of the Temple Lambda Alliance, and Gene Herson and attorney Rachel Wolkenstein of the PDC. A statement was read

"Wednesday, 26 October—The day of the Park Service/KKK pact. Following weeks and weeks of Park Service public statements that the Klan would get a permit if they applied, and telling us that Judge Lewis Quadrangle was reserved for the Klan (!) the government, citing 'a substantial likelihood of violence from others,' signed an agreement with the KKK (under the alias United States League of White Christian Patriots) 'holding in abeyance any determina-



Wirtz/Philadelphia Inquirer

Militant Philadelphia city workers protest Mayor Goode's cutbacks and layoffs, June 1988. Integrated labor movement has the power to beat union-busters and lead social struggles of all the oppressed.

from Maxine McCleary of AFSCME Local 2586, and a union motion from the PSSU.

"That afternoon, Mayor Wilson Goode responded by calling on the Park Service to deny a permit to all groups seeking to demonstrate on November 5. Goode said the demonstrations would be 'a clear and present danger' which 'can lead to ugly confrontation'."

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Marjorie Stamberg shot back that after his bombing of the MOVE commune, which burned to death eleven black people, including five children, "Mayor Goode, like former Mayor Frank Rizzo, is a proven, clear and present danger to the well-being of all Philadelphians, especially, but not limited to, black people" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 25 October). The *Mobilization Notes* continued its account:

"Tuesday, 25 October—The Mobilization received a call from the Police Department asking if we would call off the demonstration if the Klan backed down. We told them no way....

tion' on the Klan's rally permit. Superintendent Hobart Cawood of the Independence National Park, grotesquely praised the Klan race-terrorists as 'straight forward' and seeking 'to conduct an orderly demonstration.' Cawood specifically slandered the PDC as 'violent.'

"Partisan Defense Committee staff members went all out Wednesday night and Thursday morning to counter the government's violence-baiting of the anti-Klan mobilization. At 11 p.m. a press release went out, and an early morning demand for a retraction was sent to superintendent Cawood....

"Thursday, 27 October—At 10:30 a.m., PDC representatives met with National Park Service and Philadelphia Police Department officials. The Park Service handed over a copy of their joint statement with the KKK and a written retraction of the previous day's vile slander: 'All the information available to us indicates that your group intends to sponsor a lawful, orderly

continued on page 12



Philadelphia Daily News

Mayors of Murder:
Racist pig Frank Rizzo (above) as Philadelphia deputy police commissioner led cop riots against black ghetto in 1964...



Klan Won't Ride...

(continued from page 11)

demonstration and I regret that anything I said may have indicated otherwise."

"Friday, 28 October—Plans to proceed with the November 5 Mobilization received widespread media coverage, including the *Daily News*, *Tribune Inquirer* and WCAU radio and TV. The *Daily News* captioned a picture of Cawood: 'Was he too nice to the Klan?' On the Friday evening news, WCAU Channel 10—which knew that Cawood [had] had to retract his slanders—broadcast an attack on the anti-Klan mobilization inspired by the Anti-Defamation League. The PDC demanded an immediate retraction.

"A letter by the PDC staff counsel to the ADL protested the remarks of the ADL's Barry Morrison which violence-baited the Mobilization and told people to stay away. The ADL was founded to prevent—not 'ignore'—Klan terror after the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Georgia. If the German workers movement had stopped the Nazis when they were small there would never have been a Holocaust! ADL slanders of anti-fascists play into the hands of the worst enemies of Jewish and black people."

These Zionist red baiters apparently hate communists and blacks more than they do the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. They forget that they are not living in Israel, where the ruling class is Jewish. The ADL deludes itself

thinking that by attacking black and red "extremists" they will ingratiate themselves with the centrally white Christian American rulers—under an administration endorsed by the anti-Semitic KKK terrorists. Both they and anti-Semitic black nationalist Louis Farrakhan fail to understand that if gas chambers start operating in the U.S. of A. blacks and Jews will be thrust into them together.

But this vile baiting of the anti-Klan mobilization didn't work either. The next day a meeting of the Black United Front Coalition, which had earlier floated the "get out the vote" rally idea, voted to support the November 5 Mobilization and to give credit to the PDC for stopping the KKK. And courageous Israeli civil libertarian and concentration camp survivor Israel Shahak sent a message: "As an opponent of racism in any form and in any country, and especially the fight against racism here in Israel and in the Occupied Territories, I support the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia and the rally against their march there...."

What's behind the gratuitous red-baiting and violence-haiting is an alignment of class forces. On one side, representatives of the bourgeois order who want to keep the lid on social struggle against the reaction; on the other, important sectors of organized labor and oppressed minorities who understand that the Klan/Nazis mean death, and who want to fight. The Mobilization could not be stopped because it had tapped the enthusiastic support of large numbers of people who despise the racist terrorists. The key was a determined leadership.



...black Democrat Wilson Goode (left) and police chief Sambor bombed MOVE house, murdering eleven black people including live children on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985.

Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

We, the working people and minorities, won a battle. On November 5 we should celebrate that victory in Philadelphia, and mobilize our forces to keep the race-haters, red baiters and union-busters on the run.

Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

How to do it, how to fight back and win? Philadelphia gives you a sense of what labor can do when it relies on its numbers, militancy, organization and discipline. If the unions stood shoulder-to-shoulder on the picket lines like this instead of the usual backstabbing, there'd be an end to the cycle of busted unions, broken strikes and givebacks and takeaways. The Kluxers would creep back into their swampwater hideouts while the skinhead filth would slink into the sewers instead of terrorizing the streets. But the unions can't fight because they're shackled to the parties of capitalism, and they play by the bosses' rules.

And any serious class struggle is necessarily a political struggle, against both the partner parties of American capitalism. Few workers and minorities today have any illusions in Bush or Dukakis, but many expect more from Jesse Jackson. Jackson is the living disproof of his own hype that if he can make it, any black person can make it in America. He's done everything to convince the racist Democratic bosses that he can be relied on, appealing for anti-drug witch-hunts while dismissing the Klan, saying "we've lost more by dope than by the rope." When 10,000 marched for school integration in Norfolk in 1983, Jackson told them to forget busing, vote Democrat. After Howard Beach, he preached we have to stop dwelling "on that which pulls us apart," obscenely excusing the lynch mob. And what's it gotten him?

Among self-proclaimed socialists it should be axiomatic that the working class can only rely on its own forces to free itself from capitalist exploitation and oppression. In addition to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor/Black Leagues in New York, Chicago and the Bay Area, who have thrown themselves into the campaign from the beginning, a few other left groups have joined those calling for a mass labor-centered action. The Freedom Socialist Party, Fourth Internationalist Tendency and Radical Women have endorsed, as have the Philadelphia New Alliance Party and the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

But the Communist Party looks to the racist government to "ban the Klan." The CP, which hacks Goode to the hilt

and grotesquely whitewashes his role in bombing MOVE, has refused to join the mobilization while (particularly at Wesleyan University) violence-baiting those who would stop the Klan/skinheads. Sam Marcy's Workers World/All-Peoples Congress, which habitually seeks a popular front with the Democratic Party, sought to organize a *show of weakness* against the fascists: its initial press statement talked of bringing only 200 people rather than a show of strength by thousands. Unable to find any pop-front partners and spurning the PDC call for a principled united front, the Marcyites are trying to organize a sideshow on the fringes of the November 5 mobilization.

The nationalist African Peoples Socialist Party has been blustering about stopping the Klan "by any means necessary," while simultaneously petitioning Mayor Goode to ban the Klan. On a recent radio show in Philly a frenzied APSP spokesman baited a black PDC representative as a "carpet-bagger," using the language of the former slaveowners against those Northern radicals who supported the anti-slavery Reconstruction after the Civil War. Meanwhile the chauvinist fake-Trotskyists of the Workers League have the dubious distinction of having one of their supporters in NYC transit be the only member in his union meeting to vote against endorsing the anti-Klan mobilization. Fortunately, the antics of the fake-left have had little impact.

All these so-called socialists aim their sights no higher than making some friends and winning a bit of influence among "progressive" bourgeois politicians and/or the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. Without a willingness to challenge the capitalist state and the parties of capitalist reaction there can be no real victories for labor. We of the Spartacist League are fighting to forge a workers party that acts as a tribune of all the people, fighting against the deadly chauvinism that pits one section of the working masses against another. Uniquely on the American left we solidarized with the MOVE family from the beginning. The resurgence of Klan terror today is part of the price that Philadelphia unions are paying for their passivity in the face of that racist massacre.

But now the workers and oppressed have put the Klan on the run. In contrast to the dreary and sterile elections, here is a chance to strike a real blow against oppression. And out of this powerful struggle we seek to win a core of militants that will join with us to smash this rotting capitalist system through workers revolution. All Out to Stop the Klan November 5! ■

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Skinheads...

(continued from page 3)

on integrated couples and families. In London, skinheads recently attacked a lesbian bar, slashing women with broken glass, leaving more than 20 battered. The fascists have particularly targeted football, the plebeian sport of Britain, for their recruitment campaigns. "To spend nearly a week with the tough-nut core of English soccer is to start to doubt the location of the boundaries of civilisation," observed a *Sunday Telegraph* magazine reporter.

"The reason that television broadcasts of international football games never show the English fans while the pre-match national anthem is being played is that the English pens are a solid mass of Nazi salutes.... A chorus of gorilla-like grunts or a barrage of bananas from the English terraces greet opposing black players."

Skinhead Terror Spreads

The skinhead phenomenon has been spreading its poison through Europe. In Britain, they feed off pervasive depression and despair; on the continent they have appeared together with the mass unemployment of the '80s. As well the "skins" have become fashionable among petty-bourgeois elements who want to get their kicks by kicking the shit out of "foreigners." While Britain reportedly has several tens of thousands of skinheads, there are now some 2,000 in West Germany and several hundred in France as well (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19 August).

In the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, skinheads and other fascists have also targeted football fan clubs as a prime recruiting ground. Every Saturday shouts of "Sieg Heil!" and "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" are belled out in the stadiums. The National Socialist Action Front of Michael Kühnen dominates the Hamburg "Lions" club, while the Eagle Front in Frankfurt includes former members of the "Hoffmann Defense Sport Group," the murderous Nazis who set off a bomb at the 1980 Munich Oktoberfest, killing 13 and seriously injuring over 200.

The deadly menace of the Hitler-loving bands in West Germany has been documented in the book *Nazis, Skins und alte Kameraden* (1986), edited by Georg Biemann and Joachim Krischka. In December 1985, Turkish immigrant Ramazan Avcı was murdered by a gang of some 30 skins screaming "Turks out!" Then a black man was beaten at night at a subway station by skins who smeared him with swastikas and the slogan "Nigger out—White Power!" Earlier, in July 1983, a woman was stabbed by a skin after replying that she was Turkish.

These deadly racist assaults are not just the work of some deranged fringe elements. While neo-Nazi bands yelling



Le Bolchevik



Spartakist

Top: Ligue Trotskyste de France protests Le Pen's racist attacks on immigrants, March 1988. Bottom: German Trotskyists demonstrate against Nazis in Berlin, April 1988.

"Heil Hitler!" and sporting SS symbols or the Prussian eagle beat up Turks, the respectable politicians in Bonn, both rightist Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, pass legislation to force out immigrants and set up concentration camps for Sri Lankan Tamils seeking asylum.

But the fascist punks have also met with opposition. In October 1983, when the West German football team played Turkey in the Olympia Stadium in Berlin, neo-Nazi gangs threatened to assault Turks in the heavily immigrant Kreuzberg neighborhood. "Sports" clubs with names like Zyklon-B (the gas used by the Nazis in their death camps) and skinheads with bomber jackets proclaiming "Proud to Be a German" vowed "Kreuzberg must burn." West Berlin unions responded to the planned orgy of racist terror with a 3,000-strong "friendship walk" and attempts to drown out the fascist chants during the game.

More recently, skinheads attacked a dormitory for refugees seeking asylum, in Schriesheim on January 30, the anniversary of Hitler's seizure of power. When Kühnen's ANS thugs called for a pogrom against a Hamburg refugee dormitory on February 20, several hundred leftists counter-mobilized to stop them. While various reformists called on the West German imperialist state to ban the fascists, a contingent of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The skinhead "phenomenon" has now spread to France as well, where Le Pen's National Front fascists won 10 percent at the polls last April. On May Day, squads of shaved-head thugs formed up on the Champs-Élysées in a Le Pen provocation against the international workers day. And recently a homeless man was murdered outside Lille, his head kicked in by a skinhead. Hundreds outraged by this atrocity marched through the city under a banner reading "Skinheads, Nazis, Vermin."

Last May, for the first time the skinheads staged a Europe-wide "action," converging on Normandy for a "Nazi rock concert." In Rouen and Brest this turned into a nightmare of racist violence as they attacked North Africans, Asians and blacks from the Antilles. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France responded with a protest demonstration the next day at Sotteville, near Rouen, where a Moroccan-owned bar was assaulted by the fascists. LTF signs called for "Union/Immigrant Self-Defense Groups" and for "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants."

Not "A Matter of Taste"

It is only in the absence of a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement that the barbaric skinhead scum can fester and grow. Yet while the British population at large rightly

loathes and fears these killers, much of the left denies any identification of the skinheads with fascism, and even invites them into its midst. An article in the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* (September 1986) exposed a nest of fascists with histories of violent racist attacks being hired as stewards by gay pride, CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and anti-apartheid events. Denouncing the "complacency of many progressive organisations towards this nazi infiltration," the article concluded: "By their lack of political and moral sense the labour and gay movements have allowed a very large Trojan horse into their midst which may well turn out to be a tiger that will devour them."

A subsequent article in *Searchlight* (February 1988) explained how the fascists started organizing skinheads around "Oi" music: "The NF saw the huge success of the rock against racism movement of the mid to late 1970s and decided to try and attract young street fighting skins into the NF by offering them gigs that would be heavily racist and anti-Jewish...."

"Rock against Racism" was the youth corollary of the popular-frontist Anti Nazi League (ANL) organized by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party. The SWP sought to compete with the fascists by vying for their base of support among youth with rock concerts. The Cliffites tried to organize skinheads against the Nazis, with explicit appeals to this lowlife scum: "Skins hate authority and the Nazis represent authority" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 July 1978). When the National Front staged a mass demonstration in the substantially Asian East End of London in 1978, the ANL deliberately diverted tens of thousands of anti-fascist militants away from confronting the Nazis with its "Carnival 2" rockfest. These days, the SWP does not even pay lip service to the need to fight fascism. Meanwhile, it has sponsored a rock group called the Red Skins, whose album is entitled "Neither Washington Nor Moscow."

An increasingly dubious group called the Revolutionary Communist Party, which originated in a split from the Cliffites in the 1970s, has gone even further. Specializing in classless appeals to lumpen and petty-bourgeois outrage, emphasizing the "politics of power," vying with Radio Free Europe in the stridency of its anti-Soviet propaganda, disavowing the organized labor movement (even openly organizing scabs during the miners strike), the RCP not only has numerous skinhead toughs in its organization but has even recruited a "former" fascist organizer. It is a telling indictment of the rest of the British left that the Spartacist League was virtually the only organization to raise the alarm over the RCP's invitation for fascist infiltration into the left and labor movement.

The "red skins" phenomenon has meanwhile spread to other European countries, particularly West Germany. An anti-fascist demonstration in West Berlin on August 20 allowed the presence of a contingent of "left" skinheads, who distributed a Maoist pamphlet railing against the "superpowers" of the U.S. and USSR, a chemically pure expression of resurgent German nationalism. Opening the door to these "red" skinheads is playing with fire, as our German comrades warned after the Berlin demo:

"The TLD had to learn the hard way how the 'new German nationalism' is a transmission belt to punk-fascism. One Uli Sandhaus was expelled from our organization in 1982, after developing an enthusiasm for 'Oi! Oi!' music and exhibiting the swastika in his apartment...."

"In 1984, Sandhaus translated these 'proclivities' into direct action and led a bloody attack on our supporter, Gisela Borowski, to whom he had previously sent postcards with 'Oi! Oi!' threats."

—Spartakist No. 58, September/October 1988

On August 20 one of the "red skins" continued on page 14



Schroeder/Sipa

British fascists instigated deadly riot at Brussels soccer match, May 1985, leaving 38 dead, 250 injured.

Skinheads...

(continued from page 13)

declared that "Uli is my friend." No doubt!

There is nothing surprising about the existence of such "red skins." Fascist gangs are drawn from lumpenized youth who hate established authority. Divorced from the working class and socially nihilistic, they easily swing from the extreme left to the extreme right. Not a few of Hitler's stormtroopers had at one point or another supported the Communists. In West Germany today there is a large lumpenized milieu of the "no future" generation—from squatters and *Autonomen* anarchists to the various skinhead gangs—in which the lines between left and right are totally blurred.

The key is revolutionary leadership—a workers movement which is not afraid to draw clear class lines, which is willing to organize a fight for workers power to resolve the crisis of bourgeois society. A revolutionary leadership of labor could draw to its side in the anti-capitalist struggle many layers of the most oppressed including desperate youth. But instead, the bankruptcy of the cringing reformists leaves a vacuum which fascists are eager to fill, while others to their left seek to compete with the fascists on the latter's terrain.

In the '20s and '30s the German Stalinists at times appealed to the Nazi ranks on the basis of "national Bolshevism," i.e., championing imperialist Germany's national cause against Britain and France, and helping fuel the nationalist hysteria which paved the Nazis' way to power. Likewise today it is resurgent German nationalism which links the reformist left with the "red skins" with their "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" slogan—a slogan also claimed by the outright fascist skinheads since it captures nationalist resentment and anti-Communism.

The Workers Must Crush the Fascist Rabble

In France, some of the skinhead groups call themselves the "neighborhood SA." The Nazi SA Brownshirts were recruited from the socially pathological, criminal dregs of crisis-racked German society, used to terrorize the labor movement and Jews, and then discarded after Hitler took power. The Nazis rose to power in the service of German capitalism. Once there, they had to discard their plebeian shock troops and the rhetoric of "national socialism." In the "Night of the Long Knives" in June 1934, following an ultimatum by the German general staff, Hitler carried out a "blood purge" of the lumpen SA Brownshirts. The skinhead

rabble must be crushed in the egg before they become the shock troops for another triumphant fascist movement.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the nativist fascists of the Ku Klux Klan along with groups like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) have recently allied with skinheads in staging racist provocations from Orange County in Southern California to Chicago's Marquette Park to Atlanta during the Democratic convention (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," *WV* No. 462, 7 October). Now the skinhead cutthroats and KKK lynchers are threatening to stage a racist rally in Philadelphia, November 5. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a mass labor-centered mobilization to keep the streets safe from the race-terrorists.

The Spartacist League/U.S., whose class-struggle defense strategy the PDC embraces, has a record of interdicting fascist incursions into Northern U.S. cities, including a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped a KKK race-hate provocation in predominantly black Washington, D.C. in November 1982. Such a class-struggle strategy is urgently needed today in Britain and throughout Western Europe, necessarily entailing a political struggle within the labor movement against advocates of all persuasions of

class collaboration, from the Labour Party to the chauvinist French Communist Party to the Clifflite SWP. At the time of the Brussels massacre, which followed on the heels of the defeat of the bitter 12-month miners strike, we noted:

"It was the heroic miners whom Thatcher tried to crush in blood who pointed the road out of the barbarism witnessed in Brussels. Instead of fences to separate rival gangs competing in bloodthirsty patriotism, we saw French and English miners shoulder-to-shoulder singing the 'Internationale'...."

"Had the miners defeated Thatcher and opened up an intensified working-class offensive against capitalist oppression and unemployment, it would have given the masses of despairing and lumpenized youth something positive to look to. But the labour misleaders who in the aftermath of Brussels mutter about unemployment and underlying social causes were the very same gentlemen who stabbed the miners strike in the back...."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 70, June 1985

The fascists and their skinhead dogs of war are a deadly danger to minorities, to the workers movement, to all decent people. This human refuse can and will be swept away by the power of the proletariat organized in sharp class struggle against the racist terrorists, on the road to the revolutionary overthrow of the rotting system that spawns this racist filth. ■

Battle of Christiana...

(continued from page 5)

deputies who refused to cooperate with the slave catchers. The law imposed stiff penalties on anyone found to be harboring a fugitive. Most notoriously, federal commissioners who ruled in the slaveowners' favor got \$10 for their dirty work, while those who ruled for the freedom of the slave got \$5—an open bribe!

Armed with this hideous law slaveowner Edward Gorsuch of Maryland went man-hunting in Pennsylvania. He had been tipped off that four ex-slaves, who had escaped from his plantation some two years previously, were living in the Christiana area. In Philadelphia the federal commissioner gave Gorsuch warrants and a federal marshal to lead a posse. But the man-stealers were being watched by the Vigilance Committee of the integrated Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, and a messenger sped off to warn the black people of Christiana.

Armed and ready, William Parker, his family and friends and two of Gorsuch's fugitives waited in Christiana. When the posse crept up to the house in the dark of night the warning signal by Parker's wife aroused the neighborhood. The kidnappers launched a volley of bullets to cut her down. Safe behind the thick stone walls of the house, she went on blowing the horn. The posse was surrounded by some 15 to 25 armed blacks and a few whites. A Quaker miller advised Gorsuch to leave. But Gorsuch vowed, "I will have my property, or go to hell." He got his wish.



Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, Washington, D.C., November 1982. Promise of black freedom was betrayed after Civil War—Emancipate all working people from wage slavery!

When the smoke cleared, Gorsuch lay dead.

Pro-slavery president Millard Fillmore called out the Marines. Parker and two of his closest associates had fled to Canada, but the slave masters demanded revenge. Anti-slavery whites and black men, women and children were harassed, arrested, thrown in jail. Parker's own mother-in-law—a woman over 50 years old—was seized and sent back to slavery. A grand jury indicted 36 blacks and five whites not merely for breaking the Fugitive Slave Law but for *treason*, "levying war" against the United States, a crime punishable by death. The government wanted to illegitimize abolitionism and smear as dangerous *criminals* those who were fighting for black freedom.

Grotesquely, the trial was held in Philadelphia's Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed 75 years before. But the prosecution was unable to get a conviction. The federal marshal, already proven to be a coward, also proved a liar. The defense included Thaddeus Stevens, later a leader of the Radical Republicans, and made a laughing stock of the government's case. One defense lawyer ironically summed up the charges: "...three harmless non-resisting Quakers and eight-and-thirty wretched, miserable, penniless negroes, armed with corn cutters, clubs, and a

few muskets, and headed by a miller, in a felt hat, without arms and mounted on a sorrel nag, levied war against the United States."

While pro-slavery bigots clamored for blood, nationwide meetings in support of the accused passed resolutions and collected money for their defense. Even the "nonresistant, moral suasion" Garrisonian abolitionists hailed the Christiana resisters as "fully justified in what they did by the Declaration of Independence." A jailer arranged the escape of two witnesses faced with re-enslavement. The judge, though notorious for his pro-slavery convictions, ruled that an individual act of resistance was not a treasonable conspiracy. After deliberating for 15 minutes the jury pronounced "not guilty."

The battle at Christiana was a great victory for the abolitionist cause. As the black abolitionist William Wells Brown put it, "a slaveholder will never come there again in pursuit of fugitive slaves." Frederick Douglass was more than a defender: he helped Parker and his comrades to escape. Through the Underground Railroad they came to Douglass' house in Rochester, New York and boarded a ship to Toronto. To Douglass "they were heroic defenders of the just rights of man against manstealers and murderers...." Douglass recognized the significance of the Christiana resistance in proving the possibility of

victory against slavery. Comparing it to another, failed rescue attempt, when "nonresistant" abolitionists failed to stop armed thugs shooting at a fugitive, Douglass said:

"Had a few balls there whistled, as at Christiana, about the heads of the slave-catchers, it would have been the end of this slave-catching business there. There is no necessity of permitting it. The only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make a few dead slave-catchers. There is no need to kill them either—shoot them in the legs, and send them to the South living epistles of the free gospel preached here at the North."

—Frederick Douglass, *Life and Writings*, Vol. 2

To Douglass, the battle at Christiana was an example of the "John Brown way" to fight slavery. When John Brown challenged the slavocracy with arms at Harpers Ferry in 1859, he presented the only challenge which could win a revolutionary victory and overturn the entire social system of the plantation South. John Brown lost his battle, but he started the war. It took four bloody years of civil war to defeat slavery, over 600,000 deaths on the way to Appomattox Court House.

William Parker is little known today. Yet as a fighter he stood for the "John Brown way." The second American revolution, known as the Civil War, which defeated the slaveowners was sparked by the William Parkers, the dedicated anti-slavery fighters, black and white. When the reluctant Lincoln finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, setting the slaves "forever free," the Civil War became what Douglass, Brown and Parker knew it would have to be: a war to end slavery. The recruitment of black soldiers into the Union Army helped to tip the military balance for Northern victory.

The Civil War wiped chattel slavery from the U.S. But the promise of black freedom in the Civil War was later betrayed by the Northern capitalists when they turned their backs on the newly liberated freedmen. Today, to complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War and to win the emancipation of all working people from wage slavery, we need a third American revolution. This proletarian revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component, will be inspired by John Brown, Frederick Douglass and William Parker, standard-bearers of the fight against slavery. And once again the horn of resistance will sound the battle cry of freedom. ■

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Workers Party...

(continued from page 16)

skinhead fascist killers threatened to rally for racist terror in Philadelphia three days before the election.

Both campaigns are sending the same message to the working-class populations of the cities, and especially the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios: the "American dream" is off limits to you. And the message has gotten across: a sizable chunk of the black electorate, the most solid voting bloc for the Democratic Party, seems intent on sitting it out; a spokesman for a major Hispanic organization denounced both candidates for pursuing patronizing and empty "taco politics." Frustration within the black community has reached the point that some black Democrats are talking under their breath about a third party, if only as a pressure tactic.

Bourgeois elections have never offered more than an illusion of change for those whom the bourgeoisie exploits and oppresses. Today even the illusion is gone. Both parties support the massive rearmament program and the anti-Soviet war drive; both parties speak for the big-bucks financial swindlers and their leveraged buyouts and destruction of the trade unions; both parties support the genocidal attack on entire layers of the American people enunciated in the new "workfare" legislation.

Heading into the election campaign, the Democrats looked like a shoo-in. In the wake of Contragate, pervasive corruption, the Noriega scandal, the stock market crash, the Reagan/Bush administration was utterly discredited. The labor bureaucrats finally thought they had a chance to get a "friend of labor" into the White House; \$40 million of trade unionists' dues which should be

going into fighting and winning strikes have been thrown at the Democratic campaign. But as one CWA bureaucrat groaned, they've given up waiting for the spark that would ignite rank-and-file support for Dukakis.

The liberal and reformist "left" who tail the Democrats feel cheated. They were looking forward to an easy time with their Rainbow Coalition version of the New Deal popular front. But the rulers have ruled out a new New Deal,

Straight," that began: "Say it ain't so, Duke." (Last August *Frontline* headlined, "Backing Dukakis Comes with the Territory.") And the therapy-cult reformist New Alliance Party, running Lenora Fulani for president in all 50 states, is campaigning as an ersatz Rainbow.

The bottom line for these pathetic pseudo-socialists, to paraphrase Marlon Brando, is "We coulda been contenders." The Communist Party is



Cold War Cardinal O'Connor, all-purpose bigot, blesses Republican presidential hopefuls Bush and Dukakis.

Dukakis' last-ditch "I am a liberal" statement notwithstanding. The rad-lib *Guardian*, social-democratic *In These Times* and liberal *Nation* all moan about how hard it is to hustle votes for the Democrats' Reagan/Bush look-alike ticket. Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (24 October) summed up the Rainbow reformists' lament in an article on "The Campaign That Couldn't Shoot

running a handful of local candidates, like Charlene Mitchell in New York and Angela Davis in California, to placate any party members concerned about maintaining an "independent" stance. But the CP's *People's Daily-World* (20 October) leaves no doubt who its presidential candidate is: "Steelworkers work hard for Dukakis," "Pa labor leaders organize Dukakis' homestretch

blitz." This blatant class collaboration is not only a far cry from genuine communism, it's downright stupid.

The Communist International, the world revolutionary party founded by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919, addressed this question in the *Manifesto of the Second World Congress* (1920), authored by Trotsky:

"In America the line of demarcation between the Republicans and the Democrats has been completely erased. These two powerful political organizations of the exploiters, adapted to the hitherto narrow circle of American relations, revealed their total hollowiness the instant the American bourgeoisie entered the arena of world plunder. "Never before have the intrigues of individual leaders and cliques—in the opposition and in the Ministries alike—been marked by such open cynicism as now."

In the death agony of American capitalism, the rulers of this country ape the French queen Marie-Antoinette, who contemptuously replied to the Parisian masses' demand for bread. "Let them eat cake," Nancy Reagan, who "horrors" a million dollars worth of gowns tax-free, says: Let 'em eat jelly beans. The French Revolution swept away Marie-Antoinette, the American socialist revolution will deal with her latter-day imitators.

While ever greater numbers of the American people suffer a living hell, their rulers plunder the world and gorge themselves as though there were no tomorrow, while preparing to plunge the world into a fiery holocaust. But in the American proletariat they will find their gravedigger. The coming American revolution will avenge the gratuitous viciousness and criminality of American imperialism. Given a good cause around which to rally, the workers and minorities are more than ready to fight. What is required above all is a workers party to galvanize that sentiment. ■

West Germany...

(continued from page 16)

to stop the fascist rally which was to meet only 1,000 meters away at Merianplatz. They called in a leaflet for joining forces with a second anti-fascist protest called by the powerful West German trade-union federation, the DGB. The unions, joined by church, immigrant and Jewish community groups, called attention to the obscenity of Nazis threatening to march through the streets of Frankfurt 50 years after the nightmare of "Kristallnacht," the Nazi pogrom on the night of 9 November 1938

which launched the Holocaust.

But the organizers of the DGB protest declared they had no intention of preventing the Nazi provocations and would turn their rally into a "cultural program." And both demonstrations fostered suicidal illusions in the West German state, self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich, by calling on Günther Sare's killers to ban the fascists. Such "bans" are always turned against leftists, striking workers and anti-fascists.

Many DGB members, including the union federation's immigrant worker membership, wanted to join with anti-fascist youth in driving out the Nazis. So in the face of mounting outrage over the fascist threat, Brück banned both the Nazi events and the Friedberger Platz

anti-fascist rally. On Thursday, October 13, a Frankfurt court threw out all the bans. But the following day the SPD held a news conference to announce they were canceling all their events. The thought of encountering organized, anti-fascist trade unionists on the streets of Frankfurt was enough to send the Nazi dreck back into the sewers.

On October 15, the 2,000 young anti-fascists and leftists who took off from Friedberger Platz sought to link up with the social power of the unions. But as they approached the Hauptwache where the DGB-led rally was being held, a massive police chain, four deep, encircled the anti-fascist youth. As the cops closed in further, ready to bust heads and make mass arrests, a majority of the 400 participants in the DGB rally, including a contingent of metal workers carrying the banner of their two-million-strong union, the IG Metall, joined the anti-fascist youth.

An *Autonom* announced his demonstration was "dissolved," and leadership of the joint action was assumed by a representative of the VVN, the Associa-

tion of Victims of the Nazi Regime (founded by Communist survivors of Hitler's concentration camps), which had supported both protests. Police lines relaxed and the joint demonstration grew to 3,000 as it marched to the intended site of the Nazi rally, where instead an anti-fascist victory celebration took place.

A contingent of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, carried signs demanding: "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants" and "Smash the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations." The mere threat of the power of organized labor was enough to send the fascists scurrying this time. But the fact that only a few showed up for the DGB-sponsored event shows that the union bureaucrats merely wanted a symbolic turnout for their "cultural program." A revolutionary leadership must be forged to unleash the social power of organized labor, especially its strategic immigrant component, to finish off the Nazis and the capitalist system that breeds racist genocide and imperialist war. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Millionaires' Elections: Whoever Wins, Labor/Minorities Lose

We Need a Workers Party!

Once every four years the American people are treated to all the democracy big money can buy. In corporate boardrooms and swank, segregated country clubs, the billionaire masters of this country draw up their short list of which millionaires will vie for the post of Chief Executive Officer of America, Inc. Millions are poured into TV media hype, the press moguls churn out their lies and, come election day, the "common man" gets to pull a lever in the sanctity of the ballot booth for the "lesser evil" of his choice. The presidential election, that paramount expression of American democracy, offers the "choice" between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledee. Whoever gets inaugurated, the party of property wins and the working people and oppressed minorities get screwed.

The 1988 election campaign is the biggest yawn of the decade. And it's not just because the candidates lack any character, or because they blatantly refuse to address the problems plaguing the American people. More so than usually, the American ruling class is united around the policies with which it intends to oppress and exploit the American people and ride roughshod over the rest of the world. In the ornate coronation ceremonies of the Russian autocracy, when the new ruler was crowned the aristocrats cheered, "The tsar is dead, long live the tsar!" Today the American aristocracy says, "Reagan is going, long live Reaganism!"

What they mean by a "kinder, gentler" America is millions sleeping and dying in the streets and millions more condemned to slow death by starvation and disease. Their "vision of greatness" in the world is a nuclear

Armageddon. American capitalism is a dying empire: unbridled greed and rapacity reign supreme in the ruling circles of this country, as they loot the industrial wealth built up by the blood and sweat of the working people. The "debates" have been a mind-numbing

of their party preference, want another choice of candidates. A major voice of the American bourgeoisie, *Newsweek* (31 October), wails: "Couldn't we just call the whole thing off and start over?"

The working people of this country, the black and Hispanic poor, the farm-

many Jesse Jacksons they get to run around mouthing populist rhetoric. *We need a workers party to fight for a workers government, to rip the wealth out of the hands of the master class!*

Duke and the Dixiecrats: Not the New Deal But the Raw Deal

"The dirty little secret" of this election has been "race," writes pro-Dukakis *New York Times* (20 October) columnist Anthony Lewis. Two weeks before the election, the Democrats finally "realized" that the Bush campaign, which is staffed with Nazi war criminals and has hammered away on the old KKK theme of a black man raping a white woman, appeals to racism. It's not a secret, and it's not just Bush. From the start of the campaign, the Democrats have set their sights on winning white middle-class "Reagan Democrats" by ostentatiously giving the finger to black people—telling Jackson to take a walk, avoiding black inner-city ghettos, making an early appearance before a nearly all-white rally at the Neshoba County fair in Philadelphia, Mississippi, the town where three civil rights activists were murdered in 1964.

Bush charges Dukakis with being "soft on crime"; Dukakis counters that Bush is soft on drug pushers. They're playing the same side of the street—racist "law and order"—and grotesquely competing for the cop vote. Not surprisingly, Bush is coming out ahead with the killers-in-blue who police the ghettos. The Bush campaign came to New York City for the first time in late October, to push the racist death penalty at a cop rally in a white enclave of Queens. And the Ku Klux Klan and

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Militant workers support Greyhound strikers, New York, November 1983. Labor tops sabotage struggle, shackle workers to capitalist parties. For a class-struggle workers party!

farce because the "bad news bores" have nothing to debate. And the polls reveal a stark fact: most people find the whole election meaningless, dirty and dishonest. Two out of three voters, regardless

ers trying to scratch out a living, can start over—if they take power into their own hands. The racist, imperialist partner parties of American capitalism will not change their stripes—no matter how

West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis

Adapted from Spartakist No. 59, November/December 1988, newspaper of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands.

FRANKFURT—With racist terror resurgent across West Germany, the Nazi "National Democratic Party" (NPD) thought that by targeting immigrants it could mount a massive fascist provocation here. A march and two rallies, including one in the inner city, were to top off months of race-hate activity under the slogans "Frankfurt Must Remain a German City" and "Deport All Criminal and Illegal Foreigners." For a goon squad they recruited the self-proclaimed successors to Hitler's Brownshirts, Michael Kühnen's "Free Workers Party" (FAP) and their skinhead gangs. But on October 15, despite the menacing presence of 1,000 cops in full riot gear, the streets of Frankfurt belonged to 3,000 youth, trade unionists and leftists chanting, "Nazis out!"

The resurgence of German nationalism and race-terror was inflamed when Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl saluted their anti-Soviet alliance at the

graves of the Nazi SS at Bithurg in 1985. Later that year, when 700 unionists and leftists protested an NPD rally in Frankfurt, the cops broke up the protest with deadly violence. A police water cannon ran over a 36-year-old worker, Günther Sare, killing him. Today the financial capital of West Germany has a right-wing Christian Democratic mayor, Wolfram Brück, who demands that the limited quotas for asylum-seekers be filled by "Volksdeutsche," ethnic Germans from the Soviet bloc. At the same time fascists, using incendiary devices obtained from the Bundeswehr, firebomb concentration camps where immigrants and asylum-seekers are locked up pending deportation hearings.

But when the NPD/FAP/skinhead scum announced their October 15 provocation, they encountered mounting outrage and protest. Anti-fascist youth organizations, spearheaded by the anarchist *Autonomen*, mobilized across the country for a protest on the 15th at Friedberger Platz. Their clear intent was

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German Trotskyists demand "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" at Frankfurt anti-Nazi protest, October 15.